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CHRISTIANITY AND WORLD RELIEF

It is a matter of historic importance and of world wide interest that during the past few years, the Protestant churches of the United States have drawn together in a new type and degree of active cooperation. They have faced with common concern the stupendous task of helping to heal the hurts of a war-wrecked world, of re-establishing morale and restoring spiritual confidence among bewildered victims of war's terrors, and of trying in every way to provide adequate ethical and religious foundations for the rebuilding of society after patterns of peace and good-will. This is being undertaken as a definite expression of Christian faith and love, and is administered in the spirit of Christ's parable of the Good Samaritan, and of His teachings as to helping any in need if we would be true to the Master Himself.

In this ministry, a large portion of which is carried on under the auspices of Church World Service, an agency representing most of the major Protestant church bodies in the United States, the program is closely related to similar activities by the National Catholic Welfare Agency, the various Jewish agencies, and all other relief bodies. Furthermore, through the World Council of Churches, with its headquarters in Switzerland, and through such other cooperative bodies as the American Advisory Committee in China, the National Christian Council in India, and the Missions Council of Indonesia, the Christian churches of all countries are working together, to supplement one another. As we were all caught together in an experience of suffering, we are now joined in a common experience of service. Moreover, this service is not confined to sufferers of our particular Protestant fellowship, but is administered ac-

according to need regardless of race or creed. Of course there is a certain priority of obligation to do what we can for our fellow Protestants who naturally look to us, but our Christian purpose reaches far beyond these limits and embraces all who can be helped, within the scope of our resources of money, goods, and personnel.

As Church World Service, on behalf of its twenty constituent denominations and millions of individual Christians, seeks to appraise the total situation and determine how best to render assistance in relief and reconstruction, it finds that the undertaking is far greater than had been thought at first. World recovery is lagging most tragically. More help is needed, and will be needed longer than any one contemplated. Governmental and even inter-governmental programs of relief are inadequate, and do not touch the spiritual aspects of the social emergency. The Christian churches are thus faced with a limitless opportunity to demonstrate in very realistic terms what they believe about brotherhood and how they are determined to give concrete testimony to the constraining love of Christ.

For example, one of our Church World Service staff cables from China: FLOOD SITUATIONS KWANG-TUNG KWANGSI SECHUAN ANHWEI GREATLY EXAGGERATING SERIOUSLY DISTURBED CONDITIONS . . . PLANS PROCEEDING SET UP ORGANIZATION ADMINISTER PROTESTANT FUNDS THROUGH CHURCH AND COMMUNITY COOPERATION. Another cable from India says: CONDITIONS GENERALLY WORSE THAN LAST YEAR . . .

We know that whatever the happenings in the political realm, in India, Pakistan, Indonesia, or anywhere else, human suffering is continuing, and Christian relief is needed for starving individuals, and for damaged, looted, and impoverished institutions such as churches, schools, hospitals, and orphanages, all of which minister to the welfare of vast populations. The provision of prompt help is one of the best and surest ways of restoring normal life and building world good-will. The shipments of supplemental foods,

medicines, and clothing to Japan, Korea, Okinawa, Burma, Siam, Malaya and the Philippines have done much, we are assured, to recreate confidence and bring back hope, in addition to the immediate benefits of such material aid.

Similarly, we face a tragic and terrifying situation in Europe. A cable from the World Council of Churches carries an appeal **TO CHURCHES ABROAD INCREASE GIVING FOOD CLOTHES BEFORE WHAT MAY BE WORST WINTER YET STOP TWO YEARS AFTER WARS END THERE ARE STILL MILLIONS PEOPLE ALL EUROPEAN NATIONS FAR WORSE OFF THAN ANY TIME SINCE BEGINNING WAR . . .**

No one can read such messages, much less visit devastated cities and bewildered villages and depressing concentrations of refugees without a fearful sense of crisis. It is not alone the physical want, desperate as that is, but the crushed spirits and lost faith in humanity and in God, that cry out to all who have been spared such sufferings. All this is but further evidence of the cumulative human disruptions that are the major costs of global war. Men's spirits suffer even more than their bodies. Social disintegration is more tragic than mere destruction of buildings.

It is in this spiritual realm that the Christian forces of the world find their unique opportunity. That is why emphasis is placed upon Christian literature as well as food. "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." That is why special allocations are made for the re-training, physical recuperation, and material re-equipment of pastors, so that, decently clothed and fed and housed, they may be able to resume their leadership of their people, strengthening their morale and renewing their faith. That is why efforts are being put forth to restore and strengthen Christian youth work, evangelism, and social service. That is why the churches are doing all that they can to extend a ministry of friendliness and helpfulness to the millions of refugees and displaced persons whose life is but a dreary waiting for an unknown and in many cases, an unattainable tomorrow.

This is the Christian response to world need. We have not begun to do enough. It is difficult for our people to realize the enormity of suffering and want. Most Americans have had no direct contact with the destructions and losses of the war, with bombed homes, mutilated children, ravaged fields and factories, burned churches, and ruined hospitals. It is too easy to be indifferent to situations that are thousands of miles away. And yet what has been accomplished is not inconsiderable. During the year 1946, the Protestant churches through Church World Service alone gave for the helping of their fellow-men in twenty-nine countries of Europe and Asia more than six millions of dollars in cash, and more than two million dollars in commodity contributions of food, clothing, bedding and other articles. The monthly average for 1947 thus far is considerably in excess of these figures. And it must be remembered that as much or more was sent from United States Protestant churches in direct aid to their sister churches abroad not through the common agency of Church World Service. We are hoping that total gifts will continue to increase so that we can more adequately meet the needs overseas. At the present writing, for instance, many rural churches are busily engaged in a Wheat-for-Relief Campaign, which calls upon our Christian farmers to share of their bumper wheat crops a portion to be sent abroad through church channels. We are planning ways in which cotton, corn, and other produce can be donated directly, and moved promptly from the harvesting, to centers of relief distribution. Cotton bales will be sent to mills overseas; grains will be shipped in bulk or made into relief cereal; dried fruits, dried milk, and other food concentrates will help supply feeding projects for children, the ill and the aged in many lands.

In all these ways, Christianity is finding fresh avenues of discipleship, feeling a new oneness in faith and good works, developing a vital world consciousness that is an essential aspect of its true faith. And the messages of appreciation that are received from hundreds of individuals all over the

world are ample evidence that the spirit behind the gifts, as well as the gifts themselves, is felt and reciprocated.

When I was in Sweden, on my last trip to Europe in connection with this great program of relief and reconstruction, I visited Storkyrkan, the great Cathedral in Stockholm, on the hill near the royal palace. There beneath the high pulpit from which the gospel has been preached for so many centuries is a burial slab in the floor, on which are carved these words: "Here rests that good man, Master Olaus Petrie, Servant of the Gospel, Minister of Stockholm's Church. After Darkness, I Hope for Light." That is the cry today of the whole world—for light after the darkness of suffering and despair caused by man's sinfulness and strife. It is the priceless privilege of Christians to help provide that light, the light of God's love, made obvious in the sharing of God's gifts, all in the spirit of Jesus Christ our Lord.

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RELIEF FOR PAKISTAN

Emergency relief for displaced persons in Pakistan is being pushed with all resources available. The Christian Committee for Relief in West Pakistan has been set up in Lahore. Supplies already shipped from this country include nine tons of used clothing and thirty tons of whole milk powder. A shipment of drugs by air will leave shortly. Other shipments in prospect include four thousand blankets and large quantities of woolen clothing. Mission Boards are making personnel available through Church World Service. Two doctors, two nurses and one administrator have been sent by air from this country. The Government of Pakistan is making every effort to assist Church World Service and other voluntary agencies in providing relief. Some shipping space is being provided free on ships and planes. Import duties have been suspended on relief shipments, and our representatives in Pakistan write of the many courtesies and instances of cooperation on the part of government authorities.

THE ARABIAN MISSION AND SAUDI-ARABIA

The Arabian Mission was born in 1889 when the Rev. James Cantine and the Rev. S. M. Zwemer set out for missionary work in the Arabian Peninsula from the side of the Persian Gulf. It was the day of the Ottoman Turk. Abd al-Hamid II although rising for a fall, was then very strong, commanding, in Arabic lands as he did, all the large cities: Mecca, al-Madinah, Damascus, Baghdad and Basrah, as well as Hofuf and Katif on the Persian Gulf. The families of the Rashids and Sa'uds were vying for supremacy in the heart of Arabia, and Turkey held the balance of power between them. With the Turks the Arabian Mission had pleasant relations, although not without difficulties, for there was intermittent persecution of Christians in Asia Minor. Our pioneer missionaries were wise as serpents and harmless as doves.

The politics of Arabia changed complexion when the young Arab Abd al-Aziz ibn Abd al-Rahman became of age at the turn of the century, and when Abd al-Hamid's power was waning in Egypt and Arabia. Though a young man, Abd al-Aziz's thirst for revenge, and desire to restore Najd to his family, became so strong, that he set out, with twenty loyal friends, poorly armed, on mangy camels, to take the capital. As is well known now, Riyadh, the capital of Najd, was taken in the still of night, in a surprise attack, almost without the shedding of blood. From that day to this, the power of the present King of Saudi-Arabia has increased, so that his word has become law to five million Arabs. Ibn Sa'ud is the Government of Arabia and all power is vested in him.

With this most remarkable man, his government and his people, the Arabian Mission has had very pleasant and cordial relations. That relationship, of course, has not been of an official character, for it is only individuals that know the king, and have dealings with him. He has power and supposes that other men have power too, in their own right. Hence he has addressed his communications to the Hakim

(doctor) rather than to the Mission as such. The king loves individuals, as was shown in his admiration for President Roosevelt after the latter's meeting with him.

In 1913 the king drove the Turks from Hofuf and Katif on the Persian Gulf, placing his cousin Abd Allah Bin Jalui as wali (governor) of al-Hasa and Muhammad Bin Swalim as wali in Katif. That same winter (1913-14), Doctor Paul W. Harrison suggested that he and I take a short holiday in Katif. In the face of a howling Shamal (northwind) we set sail from Bahrain Island for Katif, thirty-five miles away on the mainland. After twenty-four hours' sailing with the wind contrary, we reached the bar outside Katif. Our boat though small could not cross the bar. But an Arab servant waded ashore, carrying our salams to the wali, and a letter asking whether the *hakim* and the padre might come ashore. The servant returned with all smiles and saying, *ahlan wa sahlān, Marhabba* (Welcome). There and then sprung up a friendship between two men, the Wali and Harrison, which lasted till death took Muhammad. This is the kind of friendship which has contributed so much to the good name of the Mission in the eyes of the king and all the people of Najd.

In the summer of 1914 Dr. Harrison was in Katif again, now being swamped with medical and surgical work of every description. He immediately sent for Mrs. Van Peursem, who was then our only America nurse in Bahrain, to come and take care of the women's medical work. On July 10 she sailed thither, taking her twelve-month-old baby with her, to serve the Arab women in Katif. That summer marks the beginning of a long line of visits to the people of Saudi Arabia. Since then many of our missionaries have visited these places, both men and women. Although these visits must be considered primarily medical, strictly non-political, they were none the less social, philanthropic and spiritual. Our doctors have always carried a full Gospel.

In 1918 the influenza invaded the capital of Najd. By this time the king had heard a good deal about the American doctors in Bahrain. In fact some of his soldiers,

wounded in Katīf and numbers of his family, had been treated by our doctors. The Wali Muhammad kept the king well informed about the missionary activities in Katīf. The eldest son of the king was then down with the influenza and Dr. Harrison was summoned to treat him. The camel caravan was just too slow to carry the doctor in time for his case. Shaikh Turki, the heir apparent, died before the doctor's arrival. Disappointing and discouraging as this was, Dr. Harrison nevertheless visited the king and remained in the palace for a month. And here began medical work by American missionaries in the capital of Arabia. Since then many visits have been made by physicians and nurses of the American mission, to the capital of what is now known as Saudi Arabia. Every one of these missionaries is personally known to the king and his family. The king is indeed very gracious. He knows people by name and inquires about their welfare. And he knows their character too! I have heard the king say: "*Ṭabīb* Harrison is not only a clever physician. He is a good man." That, coming from Ibn Sa'ud, was high praise and showed proper observation, for it is a correct appraisal of my colleague.

In 1920 Dr. Louis P. Dame, now of Rockford, Ill., was first called to go into Central Arabia. He too became very intimate with the people of Najd. He was for sixteen years the missionary physician in Bahrain, and consequently has made more visits to Najd than any other missionary. In 1933 Dr. Dame was requested to come and bring with him a woman nurse. Women's work then began to loom large. A very successful tour was made that summer by a party consisting of Dr. and Mrs. Dame, Mrs. Van Peursem, an Indian nurse and many indigenous assistants. This momentous trip and visit introduced American women to the harems of Central Arabia. The love of the Arabian women for our American women has grown with the passing of the years. Dr. Esther Earny Ames has much endeared herself to the women of Najd because of her amiable character and because she has relieved so much suffering among them. In fact it appears that our medical women are as much in de-

mand as the men. It is difficult to imagine any one, man or woman, more favorably regarded in Riyadh than Dr. Esther Barny Ames. It is this respect for the Mission medical people and their work that cements the friendship between Ibn Sa'ud, his sons and his wazirs and the Americans in all Arabia. I have heard this statement from a high executive in the Oil Company: "We all benefit from the reputation of the Mission."

In 1935 Dr. Dame was asked to bring with him nurses and doctors and any one whom he desired to bring. The consequence was that eleven of us went, including nurses, a padre and his son. This turned out to be a five months' tour visiting Riyadh, Buraida, Anaiza, Ha'il and Bedouin encampments. During this tour more surgical operations were performed and more medical work done than ever before, far beyond our greatest expectations. This tour, more than ever before, revealed the need of surgery in the interior of Arabia and at the same time revealed the indescribable diseases from which the Bedouin suffer. During all these five months, the king, through his wazirs, walis and agents, took care of all our material needs. He provided cars and trucks, mutton, rice and tinned fruit as much as we desired. And at the end each individual in our party of eleven, from the doctor to the sweeper, received gifts of fine clothes and riyals (dollars). All along the way we received every consideration, and were treated with respect and favor. We were not hindered in any of our movements, whether in our daily devotions or Sunday services which were held in our house. It was evident that the Arab respects religious men, even though their religion is not his own. A man without religion is unthinkable to an Arab.

In June 1935 Dr. Paul Harrison and Dr. Harold Storm arrived in Riyadh for consultation with Dr. Dame. On the Fourth of July our party left to return to Bahrain. Dr. Storm, having received permission from the king to visit any part of his kingdom except the holy places, Mecca and al-Madinah, left for the Red Sea, and from there on made his unprecedented tour into Yemen and around the South

of Arabia, ending up at Muscat. It was on these tours that Dr. Storm won the favor of the sons of the king.

Since 1935 the king has made repeated calls on our medical personnel, including Dr. Wells Thoms, who on his two visits made a reputation for himself. Dr. Esther Barny Ames had a house assigned to her in the capital so that she might do better medical work in her own house and be more comfortable during her stay there. During the summer of 1947, Dr. and Mrs. Storm made a prolonged stay in Riyadh and Ta'if, doing medical work and making friends. Both Dr. and Mrs. Storm have so endeared themselves to the people that they can bring whomsoever they please, and stay about as long as they wish.

The missionaries cherish this friendship. We hope that this happy relationship, developed during the space of thirty years, between the members of the Arabian Mission and the people of Saudi Arabia, may endure, and more and more grow into a fellowship.

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THE LATEST REVIVAL OF ISLAMIC NATIONALISM

The coffee shop traditionally has been the Egyptian equivalent of the American soap box, and out of the atmosphere of the sidewalk café has emerged the most effective attempt at reviving Islamic nationalism since World War I.

The Ikhwan al-Muslimun (Muslim Brethren) had its beginning as an organization in 1930 when an obscure school teacher named Hasan al-Banna began arguing over coffee cups in Ismailia that the only cure for the world's ills was a return to the Qur'an. Seventeen years after its formal organization, the Ikhwan al-Muslimun can claim to be one of the two most powerful mass movements in Egypt. The movement attracted little attention in the early years but mushroomed during the last years of World War II. Today it boasts of half a million members in Egypt alone, and it has roots in all countries of the Arab world. The supreme head of this mass movement is the school teacher from Ismailia, Shaikh Hasan al-Banna, who now wears a flowing white robe and commands absolute obedience from the hundreds of thousands who are his followers.

Since Islam was originally a political as well as a religious system, Shaikh Hasan al-Banna argues that the troubled situation of the world, and the Near East in particular, is due to the departure from this original interpretation of the Qur'an. To date the Ikhwan have not advocated incorporation of all Muslims into one Islamic state; the group has been content to aim at changing the separate governments of the Muslim world, and, in the words of Shaikh Hasan al-Banna himself, "Egypt comes first."

This movement runs counter to the pattern followed by the general Arab awakening of the past quarter of a century. World War I gave the Arabs a chance to begin their long struggle for independence, and throughout that struggle the Arabs have been motivated by political and not by religious ideology. The present nationalism was preceded by movements to revive Arabic language and culture. These

movements were initiated by Christian Arabs, not Muslims. During World War I, the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire appealed to political Islam in calling for a *Jihād* (holy war) against the Allies. This call failed miserably when Sharif Husain of Mecca saw a chance to win Arab independence by supporting the Allies. Political motives had outweighed religious allegiance, and the renaissance of the Near East was to be primarily Arab, not Muslim.

The Arab League, now in its third year, is the highest development in the political rise of the Arabs. Given its final approval by the British Foreign Office in 1945, the Arab League has made its voice heard in international circles. It has acted as spokesman for the Arabs in their demands for the independence of Palestine, Syria, and Libya. There is some talk of the League's exchanging diplomatic representatives with leading nations. Customs barriers, passports and postal differences among the Arab nations probably will disappear soon under the direction of the League.

Throughout its life, the League has found the basis of its unity in cultural and political, and not religious, affinity. The Lebanon, where the Christians claim a small majority and dominate the country's political life, is one of the League's most influential members. A Muslim league would exclude the Lebanon. An Islamic movement would be obligated to include Turkey and Iran, now outside the League primarily because of language differences. The same holds true of the millions of Muslims in India, Russia, China, Indonesia, and Central Africa. India's Muslim League met with indifference in its attempt to rally Arab support for a separate Pakistan state. North African colonies are excluded because the Arab League is made up only of independent states. The Arab League has given ample evidence that it is not a pan-Islamic organization.

In such an atmosphere, Hasan al-Banna's movement strikes a chord almost lost. His exact platform is somewhat vague as yet, but his great appeal is to Muslim religious sentiment. When this writer queried Shaikh Hasan on just what these "principles of the Qur'an" are, on which he

wishes to build a government, he explained that the Qur'an only lays down broad principles which must be interpreted in the light of the existing situation.

Asked about the place of minorities in such a society, the shaikh replied emphatically that Christians, Jews, etc., would be given protection and allowed to participate in the government, so long as the government restricts itself to the teachings of the Qur'an. Just what this qualification would mean for minorities has not been made clear.

Official pronouncements of the organization have stressed the traditional Muslim teaching of tolerance toward minorities, such as the Christian community in Egypt. To receive the protection of a Muslim government, however, these groups would have to be original inhabitants of Egypt and citizens of the country. The implication is that foreign missionaries would receive no such protection. Early this year, the Ikhwan launched an attack on certain French Catholic schools using history textbooks which made statements reflecting on the Prophet Muhammad and Islam. Shaikh Hasan al-Banna in an editorial advocated stricter government supervision of foreign schools in Egypt.

The Ikhwan are highly organized in Egypt. Headquarters are in Cairo, but local cells have been created in all parts of the country. Almost every village has its Ikhwan chapter, and boys are tutored from their early teens in the principles of the movement. Before a person can become a full-fledged member, he must take an oath of complete obedience before Shaikh Hasan al-Banna personally. Bona fide members must be Muslim, but there is a type of affiliate membership which may include Christians or Jews. A few prominent Copts have become affiliate members, although by and large Egyptian Christians hate and fear this movement.

The Ikhwan print their own daily newspaper and weekly magazine. Staff members for these publications are selected more with a view to their allegiance to Islam than to their journalistic skill, and the journals have little intrinsic appeal. Indifferent to international or even local news,

these papers fill their columns with lengthy diatribes by Hasan al-Banna and other Ikhwan leaders, proclaiming in eloquent Arabic the need for a return to political Islam. Circulation is kept relatively high, however, because wealthy members buy a large number of copies of each issue to distribute to the people of their respective communities. As a result, the Ikhwan daily goes to all parts of the Arab world to such remote areas as al-Yaman in the southwest corner of the Arabian peninsula.

Strength of the Ikhwan is far greater in Egypt than elsewhere in the Arab world. Their 500,000 Egyptian followers represent a much more potent force than would at first appear. Egypt has a total population of approximately eighteen millions. When discussing the country from a political point of view, one may forget women completely, leaving approximately nine million men and boys from which to draw the politically active element of the population. Eliminate those males under twenty-one years of age and the vast, passive element of completely ignorant peasants, beggars, and socially inert persons, and there remain between two and three million Egyptians in position to make their political voice heard. In the light of these figures, the strength of a half million Muslims sworn to blind obedience to one man attains real significance.

Attacks on foreign control of Egypt form the first step toward creation of the Islamic state. The Ikhwan have adopted as two major planks in their platform the dual aspirations of the Egyptian nation—complete evacuation of British troops and unity of the Nile valley, that is, union of Egypt with the Sudan. The programs of social security and international brotherhood are shelved while the Ikhwan work to get rid of the British. They base this action on the Qur'an's teaching that all men should be free. Ikhwan leaders threatened violence if the British did not get out, and the group has been accused of taking the lead in the numerous and bloody riots marking the Anglo-Egyptian struggle since the end of the war. Egyptian riots are such scattered, multi-sided affairs that it would be difficult to place the re-

sponsibility for instigating them on any one group. It is this writer's opinion, however, that Left-wingers in Egypt had more to do with these acts than did the Ikhwan.

In a manifesto issued in October of 1946, Hasan al-Banna called on his followers to declare a cultural war on the British. "Shun your British friends, boycott their businesses, withdraw from societies and clubs in which they are members, stop speaking their language and reading their books," he wrote in the Ikhwan daily. The entire group led a movement to get rid of school textbooks printed in English, to remove signs written in English, to boycott all classes taught in English in schools and universities, and in general to rid Egypt of any inroads which British culture may have made.

Another type of "foreign ideology" has met with much more effective opposition from the Ikhwan than has British imperialism. In urban Egypt today, the Left is gaining ground, probably much faster than the average person living in that country realizes. Before the late war, trade unionism was almost unheard of in Egypt. During the war, lack of competition from Western nations made possible a spurt in Egypt's industrial development, thereby creating a body of industrial workers heretofore non-existent. In the early days of the war, the Wafd, Egypt's largest party, was in power and legalized unions with certain limitations. This led to the organization of 150,000 Egyptian workers, the great majority of whom have been impressed strongly by Leftist propaganda. Vast numbers of Egyptian students also have moved Left-ward. The students and industrial workers have united to form a Students and Workers Committee which engineered the riots and demonstrations which won the British promise to evacuate, caused the resignation of Prime Minister Nokrashy Pasha in March of 1946, and blocked Prime Minister Sidky Pasha's attempts to conclude a treaty with Britain in November of 1946. This group finds its greatest possibility for legally-recognized political action within the Wafd, now out of power because of a boycott of the last elections.

The Ikhwan organization has set itself up as a counter-attraction to the Wafd and its transfusion of red blood. During the spring of 1947, the feud between the two burst into a prolonged and bitter war crackling in the editorial pages of their respective newspapers and magazines. The Ikhwan are particularly disturbed over the cry so frequently heard in Egyptian student groups that "Communism is above Islam!" As the only movement other than the Wafd with a sizeable following among the peasants and proletariat of Egypt, the Ikhwan al-Muslimun have become the great bulwark against the Left wing in that country.

The Ikhwan have not yet entered the field as a full-fledged political party, although in rare instances they have nominated candidates for Parliament. Thus far the technique has been to serve as a pressure movement exerting a strong influence on the government in power. As the present minority parties in the government show increasing inability to win popular support against the Wafd, the Ikhwan will be encouraged to test their vote-getting strength. Working in the mosques of Egypt's villages and towns, the Ikhwan form the only group in the country which has a chance to appeal to the peasants in any way matching the strength of the appeal of the Wafd.

Many observers feel, however, that the Ikhwan will lose strength proportionately as the movement becomes more political and less distinctively religious. In the early days of the movement, an Egyptian could be both a Wafdist and a member of the Ikhwan. Today he must make a choice between the two. If his religious sentiment cannot win out over his political interest, chances for success of this latest revival of Islamic nationalism are slim indeed.

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THE STRUCTURE OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN ISLAM

I. The Animistic Substrate

The object of this and the three following essays in this series is to analyze the religious attitudes of Muslims, the sources from which they derive and the concepts which determine what they think in general about God, and how they view the relation between the unseen and the visible world. The ideas so disengaged may not and need not be exclusively Muslim—many or most of them are, indeed, paralleled in other faiths—but Muslim religious thought derives its distinctive character from their combination or formulation. Details of history and doctrine will not be included, except for such brief historical introductions and notes as are needed by way of explanation.

'Formulation' does not mean exclusively theological definition in terms of an organized system. From the outset it is important to draw a distinction between the verbal expression of religious feeling or intuition and its formal rationalization in logical or philosophical terms, although the latter may in turn influence or canalize modes of thought and verbalization of religious experience. Even in regard to the Qur'an a similar distinction must be drawn. Its definitions and expressions, though in one sense the starting-point of specifically Muslim thought and belief and therefore of their systematic formulation, are themselves not systematic in the theological sense, but a direct verbal statement of certain immediate attitudes and intuitively-grasped ideas. These attitudes and statements, having then been stabilized by the Qur'an and invested with supreme authority, serve as basic determinants of religious thought for Muslims in general.

Such sources or determinants of Muslim religious thought may be classified under four heads: (i) primitive attitudes and beliefs which survived in the Muslim community; (ii) the teaching and influence of the Qur'an, supple-

mented by the Prophetic Tradition; (iii) the systematization of Islamic belief and ethics by the dogmatic theologians; (iv) the influence of the Sufi brotherhoods. It is not always possible to draw sharp lines of division, but the classification is useful for the purposes of analysis and discussion; and it can be applied to the religious attitudes of any particular Muslim community, all of which differ from one another in the relative influence of these four factors, not perhaps in theory, but certainly in practice.

As any discussion of this kind must necessarily be coloured by personal attitudes and approaches, some generalized reflections have been introduced from time to time into these papers. However absolutely expressed, they are not to be regarded as dogmatic statements, but as prolegomena by means of which the reader may be made aware of the writer's point of view and may evaluate and criticize the opinions he expresses.

The term Islam in these essays refers primarily and fundamentally to a religious conception of life. Whatever secondary elements and factors may enter into religious and social usages, the kernel or factor of synthesis is the inner sense of the meaning and ultimate end of life in this world, whatever may be the forms in which it finds expression.

No one who has attempted it will underestimate the difficulty of grasping the religious attitudes of men whose outlook upon the world differs widely from our own and has been moulded, wholly or in part, by a different tradition. But it is peculiarly difficult for the modern western mind to do so. Religion, wherever it exists as a concrete and spiritually effective force, requires the exercise of the faculty of intuitive perception, the leap of the mind across and beyond all the data and methods of rational and logical analysis to grasp directly and in concrete experience some element in the nature of things which reason cannot describe or identify. Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. In the typical western man, who has inherited English rationalist thought and values of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and who has become

mentally conditioned by it or by German thought and values of the last century and a half, the intuitive faculty has been so starved and neglected that he has the greatest reluctance to admit even its existence and cannot imagine how it operates. Our religious judgment has become in consequence seriously unbalanced.

But essential as intuition is in the religious life, it too is unbalanced unless the substance of its vision is correlated with a rational understanding of things in general. This relation is partly a negative one. The rational understanding of nature prevents the intuitive imagination from following capricious fantasies, and, being progressively enlarged, releases it from certain types of secondary error arising from ignorance of natural processes, such as a belief in astrology and the significance of eclipses. On its side, the intuitive perception constantly asserts the incompleteness of the data with which the rational intelligence operates. But this in turn issues in a positive interplay of religious and ethical with philosophical ideals. The religious imagination constantly sets new objectives to philosophy, which undertakes to define them and to integrate them with the rational world. This is the function and essence of theology, which defines for a time the horizon of the intuitive vision, until sooner or later it ventures out again in search of new experience.

In the great religious systems this conflict and interaction of intuition and reason, emotion and intelligence, or (as the Orientals and Pascal have termed it) heart and mind, is to a certain extent concealed by becoming standardized or formalized. Both elements, which together make up the religious life and attitude, are guided into specific channels, expressed in terms of a given symbolism, and issue in certain established patterns of thought and worship. This complex gives rise in time to a theology which seeks to explain the significance of the symbols and patterns in rational terms. But it is the symbols and patterns themselves, not the theology, that stimulate the emotions and imagination of the worshiper; and no religion can survive unless its sym-

bolism remains adequate to its function, not merely of inspiring the devotion and governing the will and action of its members, but of enlarging their perception beyond the limits of the seen and material world.

In no religious community, however, is the significance of its symbols and the emotional response which they evoke the same for all its members. On the contrary, wide differences in this respect are to be found between group and group, almost between individual and individual. The larger the community, and the more widely divergent its component groups are in ways of life, geographical situation, economic occupations, levels of culture or education, historical background and social traditions, the greater are the differences between them in their emotional, imaginative, and intellectual attitudes to its religious symbolism. And this difference persists from generation to generation in spite of all the efforts of the hierarchy or the professional religious leaders to organize, unify, or consolidate the community in a common pattern of outlook, thought, and action. Examples within every Christian community are too familiar to require citation here.

In no great religious community, probably, has this duality of religious intuition and theological reason been more fundamental or more openly visible than it is in Islam. It is to be seen in Islam also at the widest diversity of levels, from magical animistic interpretations to the most spiritualized conceptions, according as each reflects, in Robertson Smith's phrase, 'habits of thought characteristic of very diverse stages of intellectual and moral development.' Indeed, not only does the conflict between these interpretations form the historical drama of Muslim religious development, but it also characterizes the internal situation of Islam as a religion today.

It is a fact of basic importance in the history of Islam that it originated in the midst of a particular kind of animistic society, that of ancient Arabia. It did not, of course, originate in or develop out of that society; on the contrary, it was essentially a revolt against Arabian animism; yet it

could not help reflecting in some degree the colour of its surroundings.

The general features of Arabian animism have been described in several wellknown works. It shared the distinctive characteristics of animism everywhere: that the range of the supernatural is extremely wide, that in all the affairs of daily life man is in continual contact with it and constantly exposed to its influences and action, and that a great variety of natural objects or events are regarded with fear or awe as manifestations of supernatural power or as its locus. So the Arabs believed in magical powers which were inherent in or which haunted such objects as stone fetishes, sacred trees, or wells, or which were possessed by certain persons, some of them human, such as sorcerers, soothsayers, and even poets, but the majority of them non-human. These latter were the jinn, for the belief in whose demoniac nature and powers anthropologists have suggested different origins. This argument is irrelevant in the present context, where it is sufficient to note that it was connected with what Westermarck describes as 'strange and mysterious phenomena which suggest a volitional cause, especially such as inspire men with fear' (*Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, vol. I, p. 387).

The magical power emanating from all these objects or beings might be either beneficent, when it was called *baraka* or 'blessing', or maleficent, as, for example, the evil eye. In its crudest form, the old Arabian religion might be summed up as the endeavour to find and to use the most powerful conveyors of *baraka* against the ever-present malevolence of evil spirits. But there is no evidence for the existence in Arabia of ritual ceremonies corresponding to those of African medicine-men, even although the Arabic word for medicine (*tibb*) seems primarily to mean incantation. The culminating ritual of Arab paganism was the tribal pilgrimage to a sacred stone at specified times, the worshipers being obliged to observe certain rules in respect of clothing, shaving the head, etc., and certain taboos, the whole ceremony ending with ritual processions round the shrine, the sacri-

fice of an animal or animals upon the sacred stone, and a communal sacrificial meal.

In a world so closely besieged by the supernatural, the divine was very near and familiar. At first sight, this would seem to be contradicted by the stark realism imposed upon the Arabs by the physical conditions of their life and reflected in their poetry. As D. B. Macdonald has said 'The Arabs show themselves not as especially easy of belief, but as hard-headed, materialistic, questioning, doubting, scoffing at their own superstitions and usages, fond of tests of the supernatural—and all this in a curiously light-minded, almost childish fashion' (*Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, p. 4). Yet the contradiction is only formal; scepticism and superstition, as many examples in our day have clearly demonstrated, are the obverse and reverse sides of the same medal.

And even this scepticism had its limits. It was particular, not general. The Arab might question whether this or that soothsayer was not a fraud, or might take the risk of daring to violate a certain taboo, but he never doubted that behind all visible phenomena there was an unseen world. I am convinced that a great part of the success of Muhammad's preaching was due to the fact that among many of his hearers the level of rational understanding had risen to a point at which the old symbols and rituals had lost their meaning and value, and no longer satisfied their craving for an explanation of what lay behind the external phenomena.

The new channels opened up by the Qur'an to the emotional and imaginative outlook of the Arabs and its influence in Muslim religious attitudes will be discussed in the second of these essays. In the present context we are concerned rather with that general body of pagan Arabs who accepted the dogmas of the Qur'an without completely giving up their old beliefs. What Muhammad did for them was to superimpose upon the deposit of Arabian animism a supreme controlling Power in the personality and activity of an all-powerful God. But under this supreme disposer the Arabian legacy persisted. The belief in magic, in the

superhuman and mostly malevolent powers of the jinn, in the *qarina* or familiar spirit attached to each individual—these and similar beliefs survived with more or less of an Islamic veneer, to play a very large part in the ideas of Muslims about the world, especially (though not exclusively) amongst the unlettered popular masses. The whole subject has been illuminatingly analyzed by D. B. Macdonald in his lectures on *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*.

When, however, Islam and the Arabs issued out of Arabia and spread over Western Asia and Persia, it might have been expected that, as a result of the contacts and conflicts with their peoples of ancient culture and the heritage of Zoroastrian, Christian and Hellenistic beliefs, the influence of Arabian animism would have diminished. This is a subject which has not yet been thoroughly studied, and any conclusions that may be expressed here have only the value of personal impressions. But certain facts seem to be clear. Among these peoples also, in spite of the official cults and religions, there was still a very large substratum of ancient rituals and practices and of popular beliefs of animistic origin. Where these beliefs and practices ran counter to the complex of Muslim and Arab ideas (as, for example, some of the ancient fertility rituals of the agricultural peoples) the Arab-Muslim impact practically drove them out, at least among those who were converted to Islam. But where they were easily reconcilable with Arab animism, as, for example, the belief in astrology, the two currents combined and strengthened one another.

After the end of the Arab-Muslim conquests there was a period of three centuries during which the territorial spread of Islam, though vast indeed, remained practically stable. This gave time and opportunity for a thorough interpenetration of the religious attitudes and beliefs of the original Arab immigrants and of the peoples with whom they mixed to form the mediaeval Muslim nation. In the course of these centuries, after a long stage of theological disputes, a certain equilibrium was reached. The theology of Islam was es-

tablished in logical and rational terms, and this achievement did something to counteract the influence of the grosser superstitions.

At the same time, however, it weighted the intellectual as against the emotional side of religion. Those who were opposed to the rationalism of the theologians therefore formed congregations to emphasize and to induce personal intuitive experience of the unseen divine component of things. In the beginnings these Sufi brotherhoods or religious orders confined themselves to the horizons set by the Qur'an and Islamic orthodoxy. But as they stressed more and more strongly the all-surrounding nearness of the supernatural, they began to draw upon other sources, including older pre-Islamic beliefs and practices. Already in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the term Sufism covers a vast range of religious attitudes, from an exalted spiritual integrity which measures up to that attained in any other religion, to something not far removed from a pure thaumaturgy with an external dressing of Islam.

It was at this point that the second great wave of Islamic expansion in Central Asia, India, Indonesia and Africa brought into Islam peoples of a very different religious and cultural background from those of the ancient cultural centres of Western Asia and Egypt, peoples whose former religions were either wholly animistic, like the Negroes and the Turks, or else animistic with an overlay of Hinduism, as in India, Sumatra and Java. The inevitable result was to reinforce very powerfully the heritage of animism which still survived in popular Islam. It is evident that among the Negroes of West Africa, for example, the tenacious pagan cults would not and could not be easily uprooted, as they have not been entirely uprooted even among the old-established Negro communities in America. And since much of the work of conversion was carried on not by the orthodox theologians but by the Sufi brotherhoods, it often ended in a kind of compromise which left much of the old animistic ideas still effective in the life and thought of the new converts.

The eventual situation was, however, much more complex than this, as will be seen when the activities of some of the Sufi orders are discussed in a later essay. It would be entirely wrong to assume that Islam simply supplied a screen for old animistic beliefs. At the very bottom of the scale, possibly, this may be largely true, and examples are still to be found amongst the remoter peoples. But alongside these there is a whole series of gradations corresponding to the more effective penetration and influence of Muslim doctrine and education.

At this point it is necessary to draw a distinction between animistic beliefs and animistic symbols. All living religions preserve (and perhaps must preserve) a certain number of symbols which were originally related to animistic rites and beliefs. In the course of religious development great religious teachers have been careful not to destroy a symbolism which served to stimulate the imaginative complex out of which the intuitive religious vision emerges; but they have given to these symbols a new interpretation that entirely transforms their spiritual and intellectual significance and lifts them clear out of their animistic heritage. The working distinction is therefore between those for whom an animistic symbol still carries its animistic associations, and those for whom it has acquired a new and higher significance. It is the crudest materialism to suppose that any symbol always and necessarily carries its primitive associations with it. Thus in Islam reverence for the Black Stone, originally an animistic symbol, was transposed by Muḥammad into a rite associated with the worship of the One God, just as the Christian Eucharist transposed the Temple sacrifices and pagan sacrificial meal.

Nevertheless, it is undeniable that in the structure of religious thought amongst all Muslim peoples there still subsists something of the attitudes and beliefs derived from primitive animism. The numerous works on folk-beliefs of the Muslims of North Africa, Egypt, Syria and Indonesia supply ample confirmation of this statement. It will be enough here to quote some unpublished notes on Islam in

India written about thirty years ago by Sir Thomas Arnold, a scholar whose long and familiar acquaintance with the Muslims of India, sympathy with Islam, and accuracy of statement are not open to question, though it is possible, of course, that some of the customs he relates have since died out.

"Muhammadan India is full of such survivals, in spite of the constant efforts of the orthodox teachers of Islam to root them out. First, there are those survivals of local cults, where some shrine has continued to be a centre of religious worship, though the name of the god or the saint has been changed, as the earlier faith has disappeared before the triumphant advance of the other. This has frequently happened in the case of Buddhist shrines in the North-West of India, and still more so in Kashmir.

"But apart from such cults, there are survivals where no attempt is made to conceal the real character of the Hindu observance or belief. In Western India, for example, there are Muhammadans of the working classes, such as brick-layers, stone-masons, gardeners, butchers and others, who openly visit and offer vows to Hindu gods; they seldom visit a mosque, and rarely perform any Muslim rite, except circumcision; they wear the same dress as their old Hindu caste-fellows—and this in a country in which distinctions of creed usually express themselves in some characteristically different costume. Most of them believe in the goddess Satvāī, the goddess who registers the destiny of a child on the sixth night after birth; they believe also in the goddess Mariāī (i.e. Mother Death), who is worshipped to save them from cholera,—in Mahāsōba, the guardian deity of the field, to whom husbandmen offer a fowl or a goat at harvest time or when the new ploughing season begins.

"The worship of Sītālā, the dreaded goddess of smallpox, is widespread amongst the poorer classes all over India; her cult is kept up especially by women; and in the villages of the Eastern Punjab, for example, a Muhammadan mother in such a class who had not sacrificed to Sītālā would feel that she had wantonly endangered the life of her child.

"In Bengal there are even Muhammadans who join in the worship of the Sun and offer libations as Hindus do, and Muhammadan cultivators who make offerings to the tutelary deity of the village, before sowing their rice. The Bengali Hindus and Muhammadans sometimes meet at the same shrine, invoking the same object of worship, though under different names: thus, the Satya Narain of the Hindu is the Satya Pir of the Bengali Musalman. In one district of Bengal, the Sonthal Parganas, Muhammadans are often seen carrying sacred water to the shrine of the god Baidyanāth, and, as they are not allowed to enter the temple, they pour it as a libation outside. It is remarkable too how many of the low-caste Muhammadans join in the national festival of the Bengali Hindus—the Dūrgā Pūja, and Muhammadan poets have even composed hymns in honour of this goddess."

The persistence of such superstitions carries implications which are often forgotten, or insufficiently appreciated, in Western Europe and North America. It is easy for those, both within Islam and outside it, who have attained to a more rational understanding of natural processes to despise them. But merely to despise them is to overlook their effects and potentialities. In the first place, there is an obvious kinship between these attitudes and ideas and the animism of the pagan Arabs. Face to face with them, the position and function of Islam today is practically what it was in the time of Muḥammad. There is nothing new or unusual in this situation; it merely furnishes a contemporary and striking illustration of the continuity and uniformity of the problems which have confronted Muslim teachers throughout the centuries. The facts of history and geography decreed that both in its origins and in its later development Islam has had to grapple more immediately and more consistently with the irrationality of simple animism than with the scepticism and refined infidelities of a self-confident reason which have confronted Christianity.

But such superstitions are by no means the only, nor the most dangerous, legacies of animism. It scarcely needs to be stressed at this time that the animistic substrate is not peculiar to the peoples who profess Islam. Animism, with its fears, its irrationality, and its imaginative powers, lies in the subconsciousness of every historic faith, because it is part of the inescapable heritage of mankind, the legacy of those 500,000 years which lie behind the 5,000 years of religious development. It is a prime function of religion to discipline and to control these primitive survivals which haunt the background of our conscious existence. Their impulses, which without religious direction remain subjective and anarchical, are governed and directed in and through religion towards less egocentric ends; and the irrational fears which loom so large in animistic attitudes are transformed into ethical and religious reverence. The 'higher' a religion, that is to say, the more universal its terms of thought, the more it directs the imagination from

the self-regarding interests, in which animistic survivals are strongest, to universal objectives.

But this can be achieved by religion only because religion itself springs from and remains essentially a part of the imaginative life. Reason may and does reinforce the controls exerted by religion over these impulses, but cannot itself control, and still less transform, them, because the life of the imagination is independent of the reason. When reason has attempted to take over sole control, all experience hitherto has shown that the imaginative impulses, no longer channelled in fertilizing streams by the forces and insights of religion, break out, amongst all peoples, in violent and capricious forms and cling, in spite of all that reason can do, to the most irrational symbols.

No truly living religion has ever lost sight of these facts, or disregarded its function of sublimating the subliminal. Christianity affirmed and affirms still the doctrine of original sin. Although Islam officially rejects it as a dogma, the theme of *al-nafs al-'ammāra*, the uncontrolled appetitive soul, runs through all its religious and ethical literature. And since Islam, during the whole of its existence, has been closely engaged in the struggle with simple animism, the persistence of this conflict has continuously oriented the main axes of its religious life and outlook in directions which differ, sometimes widely, from those of Christianity.

At the same time, this struggle itself, and the constant absorption of converts from animistic environments, have contributed to maintain in it an intense conviction of the nearness and reality of the unseen world. The imaginative powers, released from the tyranny of irrational fears and earth-bound egocentrism by the willing acceptance of its controls, have gained within Islam a new dimension of intuitive insight and illumination. Not only so, but this in turn, through the effort to reach a fuller comprehension of the truths thus intuitively visualized, has laid the foundations for a parallel expansion of the intellectual powers.

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SŪRAT AL-HASHR

A Study of its Composition

To one who wishes to understand the Qur'ān historically Sūrah LIX is interesting, because it is associated with a definite historical event. It is usually taken, or at any rate the first part of it, as dealing with the expulsion from Medina of the Jewish tribe, the Banī Naḍīr, and this is an event of which we know the time and the circumstances in some detail. The Banī Naḍīr was the second Jewish tribe to be expelled. The first, the Banī Qainuqā', had been compelled to leave their village and go into exile towards the end of the year II, shortly after the victory of Badr. Most of them seem to have gone to Khaibar, an oasis north of Medina where there was another Jewish colony. It was early in the year IV that the order was suddenly given to attack the Banī Naḍīr. The Muslim defeat at Uḥud had intervened, and it may be that the Jews had too openly shown on which side their real sentiments lay. But the explanation usually given is that the Prophet had discovered a treacherous plot to kill him. He had gone to the Jewish village to negotiate for the payment of blood-money for two men of an allied tribe who had been killed by Muslims under the impression that they were enemies. The conversation lasted for some time, and suddenly the Prophet rose and made his way back to Medina. There he gave out that he had become aware of preparations to roll down a large stone upon his head from the roof of the house beside which he had been sitting. Command was given to prepare an expedition against them. Abdullah b. Ubayy and the party of opposition to Muhammad in Medina are said to have encouraged the Jews to resist, and to have then failed to support them. In any case the Jews were besieged in their village. How long the siege lasted is very variously stated. But all accounts agree in stating that Muhammad ordered the palmtrees of the village property to be cut down. This brought the Jews to surrender, because it cut off their livelihood by render-

ing their fields unproductive for years to come. They were allowed to depart with as much of their possessions as they could load upon camel-back, their weapons and armour excepted. It is said that they even tore down their houses in order to carry off the door-lintels. They went northwards to Syria, some few of them halting at Khaibar.

That some reference to this event is contained in the first part of the sūrah is evident, for it speaks explicitly of certain of the People of the Book being expelled from their dwellings. People of the Book is one of the designations of the Jews in the Qur'ān; it may of course include Christians, but we have no record of Christians having been expelled from Medina. So that in this passage it must refer to Jews. The reference to the cutting down of palms in v.5 makes it clear that in that verse at any rate the expulsion of the Naḍir is being spoken of; for it is only in their case that Tradition records that such a measure was adopted. But now, if we assume from this that the whole passage refers to the Banī Naḍir, the phrase *li-awwali l-ḥashri* in v.2 causes difficulty. The meaning of *ḥashr* here is not quite clear. The basic meaning of the word seems to be to gather together and it is applied to the driving together or rounding-up of animals. Its most common use in the Qur'ān is in connection with the Last Day, when men are gathered or rounded up for judgment. Whether there is any reference to that here may be doubted. It probably simply means 'drive' 'expulsion', or as Sale gives it 'emigration,' though that seems rather a mild word for it. But if we take Sale's rendering "at the first emigration" the difficulty is that there had already been the emigration of the Banī Qainuqā', and that of the Naḍir could hardly be referred to in that way. Rodwell tried to get round the difficulty by rendering "to join those who had emigrated previously," but that is an impossible translation. The phrase can only mean "at the first of the drive," or possibly "at the first emigration"; and one would naturally take the reference to be to the first expulsion of Jews, i.e. to that of the Banī Qainuqā'.

There are difficulties also in the passage from v.6 on-

ward which evidently deals with the division of spoil. That it does not run smoothly is clear from Sale's translation which puts words and phrases in italics which are not explicit in the Arabic. Italics are profuse in these verses. As a matter of fact the directions for dealing with the spoil are by no means clear, and seem to involve some repetition. The poor are mentioned twice, in v.7 and again in v.8. Sale disguises that by translating in v.8 "the poor Mohājerin"; but that disregards the order of the Arabic words, which requires that 'poor' be taken not as an adjective qualifying 'Mohājerin,' but as a noun to which Mohājerin is in apposition. The fact is that *lil-fuqarā'* 'for the poor' at the beginning of v.8 stands isolated and has nothing to depend on. V.7 contains directions for the division of spoil which are complete in themselves. If that verse stood alone we should feel that the directions were clear enough. It is the continuation in v.8 which causes the difficulty, both in grammatical connection, and in the coherence of the directions. But now, if we look at v.6, we notice that it begins in the same way as v.7, and that the first part of the verse is an incomplete sentence which requires something like what we find in v.8 as its continuation. Sale disguises this again by taking the second half of v.6 as the predicate to the first. But this requires the omission of a connective, and gives a clumsy sentence after all. This clause is really a parenthesis recalling that the Muslims had not captured this spoil by the ordinary methods of war, and it could therefore be dealt with specially. But for the intervention of v.7, these special directions would follow quite naturally in vv.8ff. We should then have two sets of directions for the division of "what God hath allotted to the apostle"; one set in v.7, the other in vv.6, 8-10.

If now we turn to the Arabic text of the sūrah, we find that there is a mixture of rhymes in this part of it. Most of the verses end in assonances of *-īm*, i.e. a long ee-sound followed by a consonant. The rhyme words are v.1 *al-ḥakīm*; v.2 *al-abṣār*; v.3 *al-nār*; v.4 *al-'iqāb* v.5 *al-fāsiqīn*; v.6 *al-qadīr*; v.7 *al-'iqāb*; v.8 *aṣ-ṣādiqūn*; v.9 *al-muflīḥūn*; v.10

rahīm. Thus vv.2, 3, 4 and 7 stand out from the rest by having their rhyme in a long ā-sound followed by a consonant. This confirms what we have already seen reason to suspect, that v.7 has somehow been interposed between v.6 and v.8. The variation of rhyme suggests that verses from two different passages have somehow become mixed in this part of the surah: or that a passage originally referring to the Banī Qainuqā' has been later adapted to refer to the Banī Naḍīr. That would explain the occurrence of the phrase "at the first of the drive" or "at the first emigration" in v.2; it applied to the Qainuqā', and would be omitted if the verse were later applied to the Naḍīr. And v.2 must have been applied to the Naḍīr. It is much longer than verses 3 and 4, and the greater part of it suits the case of the Naḍīr rather than that of the Qainuqā'. For here we have reference to the People of the Book withdrawing to their strongholds, thinking that they could withstand a siege; to their being taken in a way that they had not reckoned on, i.e. by the destruction of their palmtrees; and to the pulling down of their houses with their own hands. Further, if we look at the Arabic, we find that there is a possible rhyme in *-īn* by ending the verse at *al-mu'minīm*, 'the Believers,' and omitting the final phrase. From there we could quite well pass on the v.5. Following thus the indication of the rhymes, we get a passage rhyming in assonances of *-īn*, which refers to the Naḍīr. It consists of vv.1, 2 (with the omission of the phrase 'at the first of the drive,' and the concluding clause) 5, 6, 8, 9, 10. The close connection of vv.8, 9, 10 is obscured in most English translations. Baiḍāwī, in his commentary, points out that *alladhīna*, at the beginning of v.9 is co-ordinate with *al-muhājirīn* in v.8, and is therefore in apposition to *al-fuqarā'*. So with *alladhīna* at the beginning of v.10. *Al-fuqarā'* is in fact the main word of which all that follows to the end of v.10 is the expansion. The poor to whom these spoils are to be devoted consist of three classes: (a) The Muhājirīn, who have been dispossessed of their houses and their substance, i.e. had been forced to leave their homes in Mecca, and any property they had there, for the sake of

their religious convictions, and their support of the prophet. (b) "Those who occupied the dwelling and the faith before them." The difficulty of this description arises largely from the phrase 'before them,' as presumably the Muhājirīn were the earliest believers. But if we take the phrase simply to mean 'before they came' or as Baiḍāwī says, 'before their hijra,' the whole description applies aptly to those in Medina who had become believers before the Hijra, and had been willing to entertain the emigrants from Mecca. What follows is a circumstantial clause describing the attitude of these first Anṣār to the refugees from Mecca who came to them: they took them to their hearts, and entertained them ungrudgingly. That is the reason why they are now to share in the spoil; their generosity to the first Muhājirīn is now at last to be rewarded. (c) "Those who have come after them." Since these first Muhājirīn, there had no doubt come many more, from Mecca and elsewhere. They had been attracted by the new religion, and had come bringing with them nothing but a devoted spirit, pray-for forgiveness for themselves and the believers and that they might preserve a spirit of goodwill. Their inclusion among the poor who are to be provided for is supported by this description of their friendly and pious attitude.

There remain in this first part of the sūrah verses rhyming in assonances of ā followed by a consonant, which refer to the Qainuqā', and are therefore earlier. They are v.2 (the beginning and the end, the beginning being common to both deliverances) vv. 3 and 4 and v.7. That v.7 is somehow connected with the passage is made probable by the rhyme. But it is unlikely that it ever immediately followed v.4; for not only has it the same assonance, but it ends in the same phrase. We do not as a rule find two consecutive verses in the Qur'ān ending in the same rhyme-word, let alone the same rhyme-phrase. We may I think assume that v.7 was a separate little deliverance dealing with the division of the spoil of the Qainuqā'. The division of the spoil seems to have caused the prophet some difficulty. He had many things to provide for. Some of the Muhājirīn were in



dire straits, and the Anṣār, generous as they were could not be expected to continue indefinitely to support them. He had to make provision for his own family. More important were the political, or state purposes for which he had to provide. He naturally wished to have means at his disposal for these various purposes. It looks as if he had at first meant to claim the disposal of all the spoils taken. Sūrah viii, 1 is obscure, but, on the face of it, seems to bear that sense. This dates from about the time of Badr. Badr, however, was of the nature of a military expedition, similar to the recurring raids in which Arab tribes engaged. He had to reckon with Arab custom in these matters, which, we are told, was that the leader of the expedition took a quarter of the spoil, while the rest was divided among those who took part. Accordingly we have the regulation laid down in viii, 42, that of any spoil taken, one-fifth was to belong to Allah, i.e. was to be at the prophet's disposal for religious and state purposes. But this seems not to have been sufficient to meet these other special purposes. The property of the exiled Jews was therefore to be treated specially. It may be noted that both in v.7 and in vv.6, 8-10, the spoil is referred to as "what Allah hath allotted to the messenger," and reasons are given why it should be treated in this special way. It is from this angle that we see the reason for the parenthetical clause in v.6 recalling that the spoil of the Naḍīr was not the result of an ordinary military expedition, and also for the lengthy exposition of the three classes of poor and their particular merits in vv.8-10. Muhammad must have felt that there might be some objection, even amongst the believers, to this departure from the rule that had been previously laid down. The reason has to be given, and they have to be persuaded that the departure from the rule is for worthy objects.

Now if we look forward in the sūrah we find a passage beginning with a direct address to the believers, vv.18-20. These three verses exhort the believers to fear God, to remember that He knows what they do, and be careful what they send forward for the morrow, i.e. what record they pile

up for themselves against the Judgment-day, when the consequences of forgetting God will be serious. This edifying exhortation appears to stand by itself, and while it is appropriate enough for any occasion, one wonders why the believers are specially so exhorted here. In vv.16, 17 there is mention of Satan deluding people, who thus find themselves consigned to the Fire; and it may be that the exhortation is suggested by solicitude lest the believers should also go astray. But in that case one would have expected the verses to contain a warning against giving heed to the promptings of Satan. On the other hand, we have already found some correspondence between v.7 and this deliverance regarding the spoil of the Naḍir, and v.7 ends with an exhortation to fear God, and a reminder that God is severe in punishment. The sense of these three verses is similar, and this suggests that we have here the detached conclusion of that deliverance. Taking them so, we should have in vv. 6, 8-10, 18-20 a passage, much longer than v.7, but corresponding to it in subject, in balance, and to some extent even in wording. It begins with the same words, it gives reason for the special treatment of this spoil, it specifies the classes who are to benefit from it, and it ends, as v.7 does with an admonition to fear God, and a reminder of the serious consequences of disobedience. The classes who are to benefit are naturally somewhat different, as no doubt the situation has changed in the interval. Yet they do not differ so much after all. The poor are mentioned in both cases, and the phrase *ibn as-sabīl* in v.7, so often understood as traveller, probably means much the same as the later Muḥājirīn. *Sabīl* is not the ordinary word for the road on which one travels; in the Qur'ān, it more often has the religious sense of the way (or cause) of God. The "son of the way" will therefore be the man whose presence is due to his following the way of God, i.e. who has accepted Islam and come to join the Muslim community in Medina. There remain then only "those who are of kin" and "the orphans" mentioned in v.7 and not in the later deliverance. They have probably by this time been provided for otherwise.

What then of the intervening verses, 11-17? It is fairly evident that if these verses refer to the Naḍīr, as presumably they do, they must be earlier than the deliverance on the division of the spoil. For the attack on them has not yet been made; the passage is in effect an encouragement to deal with them. It must have looked a dangerous operation for they had friends in the town. *Alladīna nāfaqu* are the party generally referred to by the name *al-Munāfiqīn*, which is usually translated "the Hypocrites." Some have thought this to be a borrowing from Ethiopic, but it is more likely that in this case Ethiopic borrowed from Arabic. Here in fact we see the designation taking shape, not yet crystallised into the participation form. Remembering that the battle of Uḥud took place about six months before the expulsion of the Naḍīr, we can give the occasion for it. We are told by Ibn Hishām (pp. 58ff.) that before that battle Abdallah b. Ubayy and his party had been in favour of remaining in Medina and defending themselves there if attacked by the Meccans. Muhammad himself had at first been inclined to this course. When he finally decided to march out and offer the Meccans battle, Abdullah and his party accompanied him so far, but changing their minds, broke off and returned to the town. The Arabic verb *nāfaqa* is used of animals, especially mice, drawing back into their holes. Abdullah and his party are thus appropriately referred to as "those who have drawn back" like mice to their holes. As this party, probably the same as those who earlier had been described as "those in whose heart is disease," cherished feelings of grudge and opposition to Muhammad and the Muslims which they did not dare to show openly, the designation readily acquired the sense of Hypocrites.

Here then we have the situation. The Muslims had been defeated at Uḥud. But the Meccans having no quarrel with Medina, had drawn off, and the Prophet had begun to rally the strength of his party. The Jews, remembering what had happened after the battle of Badr, may have feared another blow against them. Possibly they were conscious of having

shown too openly their sympathy with the enemy. Abdallah and his party also may have feared that their desertion in the face of the enemy would not go unpunished. At any rate these two groups have been intriguing together. Those who drew back have promised the Jews energetic support, if anything is done against them; and we may perhaps assume that the bargain was not one-sided. As those who drew back had formed about a third of the army, this combination must have seemed a formidable one, especially as in such a conflict, the greater part of the Medinans would have been inclined to be neutral. But Muhammad has discerned the weakness of the alliance. It was not a hearty one; outwardly they appeared united, but 'their hearts were divided.' They will not join forces openly, but will remain in their fenced villages, and allow themselves to be taken separately. They are really afraid of the Muslims. That is the sense of v.13 which is difficult and often misunderstood. Literally the Arabic may be translated: "Surely, you are more violent in respect of terror in their breasts than Allah," the plain meaning of which is that they are more afraid of you than of God. Their fear of God was only a pretence, but their fear of the Muslims was a reality.

Another peculiarity of the passage is that in v.15 and vv.16f. we have two comparisons, each introduced by *kamathal*, and each dependent on vv.11-14, but independent of each other. If we omit v.15, vv.16f. are quite appropriate as a conclusion to vv.11-14; the Hypocrites have encouraged the Jews to resist, but will desert them when the time of danger comes. In so doing they have acted like Satan, who tempts man to unbelief, and then deserts him at the Judgment-day, cf. XIV, 24-27. But what then about v.15? It can be translated in two ways: "Like those who a little before them tasted the evil of their affair, and for whom a painful punishment is in store" or "Like those a little before them, they have tasted the evil of their affair, and for them a painful punishment is in store." In either case the reference is to the Banī Qainuqā', and it is now the Naḍīr who are compared to them. If the verse be taken in the first

way, the Naḍīr are acting like the Qainuqā' and will suffer like them; if in the second way, the Naḍīr have already suffered as the Qainuqā' had suffered; the verse being then later than the exile of the Naḍīr. In any case we have an alternative comparison, which replaces the original one in vv.16f.

So far the historical reference of the various parts of the sūrah has been clear. But the concluding verses are didactic, and do not seem to have direct reference to events. V.21 in fact is quite isolated, and seems to have no relation at all to the rest of the sūrah. In Sale's translation, it reads: "If we had sent down this Koran on a mountain, thou wouldst certainly have seen the same humble itself, and cleave in sunder for fear of God. These similitudes do we propose unto men, that they may consider." It is possible to take "this Koran" as referring to the admonition contained in vv.18-20, for the word Qur'ān does sometimes denote, not the book, but a single revelation. It is however difficult to see why this particular admonition should have had such an impressive statement of its importance attached to it. It seems more probable that Qur'ān here refers to the revelation which Muhammad is delivering. As Baiḍāwī says, the verse is similar in sense to XXXIII,72: "Verily we offered the trust to the heavens and the earth and the mountains, but they refused to bear it and shrank from it; but man bore it." It stresses the tremendous nature of the revelation which is being conveyed to man. This does not really connect with any thing in this sūrah.

Vv.22-24 magnify the praises of God. They contain some epithets which do not occur elsewhere in the Qur'ān, and are difficult to explain, such as *al-quddūs*, *al-salām*, *al-muḥaimin*. But the sense of the passage as a whole is clear. It teaches the exalted, sublime, beneficent nature of God, to whom belong all beautiful names, and with whom no other being can be compared. This is similar to v.1, and in fact the words of v.1 recur with little change at the end of the sūrah. Vv.1, 22-24 form in fact the setting of the sūrah; the only question is whether they once formed a continuous

(earlier) passage, into which, as it were, the sūrah has been inserted, or were composed for their present position, and belong to a date just after the attack on the Naḍīr.

We may now sum up by setting out in historical order the various elements which we have found in the sūrah. First we have a short piece dealing with the expulsion of the Banī Qainuqā'.

2. He it is who hath expelled those of the People of the Book who have disbelieved from their dwellings at the first of the drive; so lay it to heart ye that have eyes.

3. Were it not that God had prescribed exile for them, He would have punished them in this world, and for them in the Hereafter is the punishment of the Fire.

4. That is because they opposed God and the messenger; if any one opposes God, verily God is severe in punishment.

Not long after, the division of the spoil of the Banī Qainuqā' was dealt with.

7. What God hath allotted to his messenger from the People of the towns is for God, and the messenger, and the kinsman, the orphans the indigent, and the follower of the Way, in order that it may not be passed from hand to hand among those of you who are rich; what the messenger gives you, take, and what he forbids you, refrain from; show piety towards God, verily God is severe in punishment.

More than a year later, when the Muslims were recovering from the setback they had suffered at Uḥud, and found themselves faced by a combination between the 'Hypocrites' and the Jews, they were encouraged by the following deliverance, pointing out the weakness of the alliance.

11. Hast thou not seen those who drew back saying to their brethren the People of the Book who have disbelieved: "Surely, if we are expelled, we shall go out with you; we shall never obey anyone in regard to you; and if ye are attacked in war, we shall help you"? God testifieth that they are lying.

12. If they are expelled, they will assuredly not go out with them, and if they are attacked in war, they will not help them, and if they do help them, they will certainly turn their backs; and then they will not be helped.

13. In their hearts they fear you more than God; that is because they are a people who do not discern.

14. They will not fight with you in a body, but in fortified towns, and from behind walls; amongst themselves their fighting spirit is strong, and one would think them united, but their hearts are diverse; that is because they are a people of no intelligence.

16. Like Satan, when he said to man: "Disbelieve," and then when he had disbelieved, said: "I have nothing to do with thee; I fear God Lord of the Ages."

17. So the latter end of both of them is that they are in the Fire, therein to abide; that is the recompence of the wrong-doers.

This may have been recited again with a different ending, v.15 in place of vv.16, 17; or it may have been repeated (with this change), after the Naḍir had been expelled, according as we interpret v.15 (see above).

The question of the spoil of the Naḍir must have arisen very soon after their expulsion, and we accordingly get a deliverance dealing with that. It is the longest passage, even if we do not include in it vv.1, 22-24, which form the setting for it, but may not have been composed at the same time. V.1 is in any case necessary as an introduction, after which it begins in the same way as the piece referring to the Qainuqā'.

1. All that is in the heavens and the earth gives glory to God; He is the Sublime, the Wise.

2. He it is who hath expelled those of the People of the Book who have disbelieved from their dwellings. Ye thought not that they would go forth, and they thought that their strongholds would be their defence from God; but God came upon them from whence they did not anticipate, and cast terror into their hearts as they made their houses desolate with their own hands and the hands of the believers.

5. The fine palms which ye cut down or left standing on their roots—it was by the permission of God, and that He might humiliate the reprobate.

6. What God hath allotted to His messenger from them—ye rushed neither horse nor camel upon it, but God giveth authority to His messengers over whomsoever He willeth; God hath power over everything—

8. is for the poor; the Emigrants who were expelled from their dwellings and properties, desiring bounty and goodwill from God, and helping God and His messenger;

9. and those who occupied the dwelling and the faith before their coming, loving whoever might emigrate to them, not cherishing in their breasts any grudge because of what might be given to them, but preferring them above themselves, even though there was want amongst them—those who are protected from their own niggardliness are the ones who prosper;

10. and those who have come after them, saying: "O our Lord, grant forgiveness to us and to our brethren who have preceded us in the faith, and set not any malice in our hearts towards those who have believed; O our Lord, verily, thou art kindly and compassionate."

18. O ye who have believed, fear God, and let each one see to what he sends forward to the coming day; fear God, verily God is well-informed of what ye do.

19. Be not like those who have forgotten God, so that He hath caused them to forget their own souls; they are the reprobate.

20. The people of the Fire and the people of the Garden are not on the same footing; it is the people of the Garden who are the successful.

A subsidiary question now arises. How did these deliverances come to be mixed up, and the verses to stand in their present order? It was in an attempt to answer questions like that, which arise throughout the Qur'ān, that I put forward a hypothesis of written documents, of sheets and scraps of some writing material, which had sometimes been used both back and front. Writing material was probably not very common in Medina, which was not a mercantile city like Mecca; or the Prophet may not have wished to make it too public that he was using such material for his revelations. So that scraps may have been preserved and used over again if possible. In this case the hypothesis would work out something like this.

The deliverance on the expulsion of the Qainuqā' is evidently a fragment from some position in which a statement about Allah preceded (the beginning of surah III?). It occupied part of a sheet. V.7, dealing with the spoil of the Qainuqā', would also occupy part of a sheet. The deliverance dealing with the combination of the Jews and the Hypocrites would occupy a whole sheet; when it was repeated, or otherwise manipulated, and v.15 substituted for vv.16, 17, these two latter were cut off and v.15 somehow written in at the foot of what remained. When now the long deliverance on the expulsion of the Naḍir and the use to be made of their spoil came to be composed, the previous deliverance on the spoil of the Qainuqā' was recalled and taken as a model; the little piece on their expulsion was also resuscitated. The first line (two lines? in any case containing the phrase *li-awwali l-ḥashri* which was inappropriate) was retained; the rest was cut off, turned over and the new part of v.2 written on the back. (The length corresponds; each of these pieces occupy about 3 lines in a litho-

graphed copy of the Qur'ān which happens to be at hand). The back of v.7 was now used; it held vv.5 and 6; (a little less than 4 lines, v.7 almost exactly the same). Vv.8-10 were written on the back of 11-14 ($8\frac{1}{2}$ lines in the one case, 9 in the other; v.15 having been crowded in, does not count). The deliverance however was not yet complete. There remained the back of xx.16, 17, which we have supposed to be cut off from vv.11-14. This would give space for about 3 lines of vv.18-20, which occupy 4 lines in the copy I am using. Room had to be found for another line, and a piece on which stood v.21, the statement of the Qur'ān, was brought from elsewhere and the back of it used to eke out the necessary space. If now we imagine a copyist, upon whom it was laid to produce exactly what he found, faced with these scraps, and reading them front and back as he came to them, the result would be the surah as it stands.

The process is admittedly rather complicated, and was only put forward as a working hypothesis. As such it proved useful in other passages. But the main thing of course is that the Qur'ān should be made as far as possible intelligible. If I have succeeded in unravelling the several deliverances contained in this surah, I shall not quarrel with any simpler explanation of the confusions which may be offered.

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BĀBAK OF BADHDH AND AL-AFSHĪN
DURING THE YEARS 816–841 A.D.

*Symbols of Iranian persistence against
Islamic penetration in North Iran*

In the year 22 A.H. (624 A.D.) after the shattering defeat of the Iranian army at Nihāwand, two columns of Arab troops continued the march eastward, one toward the city of Rayy via the direct route of Sāveh, and the second by a more northerly route to Qazwīn. After occupying Qazwīn, a detachment moved northward into Ādharbayjān via Abhar and Zenjān and besieged the capital city of Ardabīl. After brief fighting, Ḥudhaifah bin al-Yamān, Commander of the Arab Muslim forces, made a treaty of peace with the leaders of Ādharbayjān resistance guaranteeing (1) that there would be no more killed; (2) that no captives were to be taken; (3) that a money indemnity of eight hundred thousand dirhems was to be paid at once; (4) that the people were to be protected from attacks by the Kurds of Savālān and Belasjān, and (5) that especial treatment was to be granted to the people of Shīz (modern Takht-i-Suleiman south of Marāghah), the religious center of Zoroastrian worship, permitting them to keep their Fire Temple intact, to continue in their faith and to perform their religious dances on their holidays. They were to pay the *kharāj*.¹ In spite of this light and reasonable treaty, Yāqūt and others record an almost immediate revolt which seems to have been followed by later uprisings. It seems probable that almost a generation passed by before sufficient people in the city of Ardabīl became Muslim to have mosques and the regular reading of the Qur'ān.

After the conquest of the capital city of Ardabīl there are no clear records of the movement of Arab troops, but the scanty available references indicate small detachments

¹ Yāqūt, I, 173, 11ff. For a study on the significance of Shīz, see Jackson's "Zoroaster" p. 100 f. and "Persia, Past and Present," p. 139 f. Rawlinson, J. R. G. S., X, 68 etc.

went westward around Lake Urmīah and then southward, so that Shīz (or its environs) was evidently occupied from the north.² But it is very clear that at no time were the Arab forces large and the occupying troops must have been a negligible fraction of the total population.

A glance at a relief map will show that a high plateau region lies north of the modern Baghdād to Qazwīn road and that from Qazwīn to Mashhad the road is flanked on the north by a chain of extremely rugged mountains now called the Elburz. Good roads are very scarce, the best two branching off northward from the ancient silk route at Qaswīn. Aside from these breaches in the rugged terrain in that region, no breaks of great importance are found until one reaches the borders of Afghanistan. These two main factors, one geographic and one ethnic, limited the penetration of Arabs northward from the Baghdād to Mashhad road: one was the physical difficulty of movement of large numbers of people and the second was the tenuous extension of dwindling available reserves to occupy strongly the conquered terrain. A third historical reason accentuated the superficiality of Arab penetration. At the time of the Arab conquest, there were no large or important cities in Ādharbayjān³ or the Caspian coastal regions, wherefore the hope of rich booty was low and possibility of tax collection not too bright. The total result was that the Arab never gained more than a toe-hold in these vast regions, nor was his religious and cultural penetration any more impressive than the demographic one. Proof of this comes from a later day but one strong indication was in the use of language. Arabic always has been a relatively unknown language in this area. Yāqūt records that in his day the people spoke what was called "Adhrīyah"⁴ which others did not understand. It was probably a Medo-Persian tongue such as survives in a few isolated localities even in the twentieth cen-

² Yāqūt, III, 353, 23.

³ Tabriz, Marāgheh, Urmīah and other walled towns are not mentioned as being fortified until the middle Abbasid period, when building of walls began. Yāqūt gives the names of the founders of all of these fortified towns as walled cities, dating them to the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd or later.

⁴ Yāqūt, I, 173, 1.

tury. At Harzand near Zunus just east of the Tabrīz-Julfā road; in the bend of the Qizil Uzan east of Mīaneh and elsewhere, dialects of an archaic tongue are still spoken.⁵ What little evidence exists, from lists of names, indicates the Adhrīyah speech was being displaced by Turkish about the middle of the eleventh century⁶—the language of the province to the present day. If therefore language is a sign-post of the infiltration of a people or a culture, then one would be justified in deducing that Arab culture in other respects scarcely disturbed the old patterns. This deduction is given overwhelming proof in the events of the ninth century.

Unfortunately there are no known sources which give a sympathetic view of the events concerning the persons and teachings of the figures involved in the revival of Neo-Manicheism or Mazdakism in northern Iran during the first half of the ninth century. It was an intolerant age and the few writers who passed on their impressions quoted sources which are often highly biased. Yet even these partisan sources afford a considerable amount of fact although seen through a screen of invective and hostility. The revolt against Arab culture seems to have originated with an obscure individual named Jāvidān bin Sahl or bin Suhrak,⁷ and culminated in the great revolt of Bābak of Badhhdh.⁸

The author of the *Fihrist* quotes from a lost history of Bābak compiled by Wāqid bin Āmr al-Tamīmī. Although hostile in tone and always attributing the most evil of motives to the characters it portrays, this source gives by far the most interesting details as to the early days of the movement. According to him Jāvidān bin Suhrak was the owner

⁵ These are observations of the author as a result of visits to these spots.

⁶ Nāsir Khosrow's description of Tabrīz in his Travelogue (*Safarnāme*, 17, lines 9-15) indicates penetration of Turkish influences.

⁷ Tab., III, 1015 gives the form *Sahl*. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 62 gives the form *Shahrak*. The *Fihrist*, p. 342, gives the variant *Suhrak*.

⁸ The most detailed sources for the history of Bābak are: (a) Tabarī, III, 1015; 1187-1226; (b) Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 62, 124-133; (c) the *Fihrist*, pp. 342-344. Important passages from these have been translated into modern languages. They are as follows: H. Zotenberg, *Chronique de Tabari*, London, 1874. The author has collected into a consecutive narrative all the material which comprises Chap. CXIV in Vol. 4. Edward G. Browne in his *History of Persian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 331-336, also presents much of the fundamental picture.

of large herds of sheep. He lived in the Ardabîl region and took his sheep to the market of Zenjân. In the same region, some years before, there had appeared from the city of al-Madâ'in (in Iraq) an unnamed oil seller who emigrated to the village of Bilâl-âbâd⁹ in the district of Maymadh (n.n.e. of Ardabîl in the region of modern Mûqân). Carrying his oil in a vessel on his back, he used to peddle it from village to village. On one of his trips he conceived a passion for a one-eyed woman with whom he had clandestine meetings in a grove of trees. Caught by other villagers, he later legalized the relationship by marrying the woman, who became the mother of Bâbak. Years later the woman became a widow, while her son went to Sarâ (b)¹⁰ as a cattle herder. Later he went to Tabrîz and entered into the service of the Chief of that town named Muḥammad ibn al-Rawwād al-Azdî. After this term, he returned to live with his mother. The wealthy Jāvīdān meanwhile made a successful trip to Zenjân selling 2,000 sheep and on his return, due to the inability of the local mayor to entertain him, he was billeted in the home of Bâbak's mother. He noted that although Bâbak was uncouth in appearance, he was a clever rogue and of high intelligence, so he offered him the job of major domo over his lands and estates.

Jāvīdān was challenged by a rival and in the ensuing conflict, the rival was killed but Jāvīdān was mortally wounded. After his death, his widow conceived a passion for Bâbak and conspired with the latter to maintain leadership of the sect which had clustered around the dead master. This was done by proclaiming that in his last words he had commanded them as follows: "I shall certainly die tonight and my spirit will migrate from my body and enter into this youth. . . . I intend to place him in authority over my fol-

⁹ The *Fihrist* is the only source using the name Bilâl-âbâd. All other sources use Badhayn or Badhdh. The latter two represent Arabic forms of what appears to be the last syllable of the *Fihrist* name. All sources place the town where the Aras River flows out of the mountains and enters the plains of Mûqân (Yâqût, I, 529; Maqdasî, 378, 5; ibn Wadîh, 271, 18, etc). Therefore it must have been near the modern bridge and small town called Pul-i-Khudâferîn about 90 miles northwest of Ardabil.

¹⁰ The modern town of Sarâb. The Arab geographers often omitted the final "b" in the spelling of the name of the town. Yâqût, III, 64:13; Faqîh, 285, 11, etc.

lowers." The Jāvidānī sectarians accepted this statement without questions. Ceremonials for marking the assumption of authority soon followed. In the presence of the assembled devotees, the widow called for a cow, had it sacrificed and flayed and the skin spread out on the ground. Then a bowl of wine was placed in the center, into which she broke bread and around which she placed other fragments. She then called each devotee by name and bade each one tread the skin with his foot, take a piece of bread, immerse it in the wine and eat it, repeating, "I believe in thee, O spirit of Bābak, as I believe in the spirit of Jāvidān." Each man then took the hand of Bābak, kissed it and did obeisance to him. Meanwhile a feast was prepared at which she publicly seated Bābak at her side on her bed. After drinking three draughts of wine each, she took a sprig of basil and passed it to Bābak—this constituting the marriage ceremonial. The followers then repeated their obeisance, this time to both of them, thus acknowledging their marriage. According to other authors this was in the year 201 A.H. (816-7 A.D.).¹¹

Bābak seems to have accepted Islām at one time, for Mas'ūdī records that he had assumed the name of al-Hasan.¹¹ But aside from this one clew, all other indications are that he hated Arabs and Islām and that he represented a reappearance of old Iranian concepts. He re-asserted his old Persian name, of Pāpak, claimed the doctrine of God appearing in human form (*hulūl*), assumed the belief in transmigration of one human soul to another (*tanāsukh*) and the return of an *imām* in a later age (*riḡ'at*). The cultic and fertility rites above mentioned are strongly reminiscent of the mystery religions better known in the west because of their Greek and Christian counterparts. Not a vestige of Arab culture is perceptible in the whole pattern adopted by the Jāvidānī or the Khurramī, the sects which were associated with the two leaders. Such deep-seated Iranian practices throw some doubt on the above story of Bābak's father being from al-Madā'in where Arab culture must have been far more advanced than in Ādharbayjān. Also there are

¹¹ Tabarī, III, 1015, 10; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 130.

abundant details to show that Bābak was fanatically supported by the entire population, indicating a greater identity of interests than one would get from the prejudiced witnesses available.

So far as the records go, Bābak assumed rule over all Ādharbayjān with no opposition. Muḥammad bin al-Ba'īth, lord of the two great forts at Tabrīz and Shāhī (the island in Lake Urmīah), allied himself to Bābak¹² so that the latter held cities as far south as Marāghah and Zenjān.

Unfortunately little has come down as to Bābak's beliefs. The Khurramīyah sect broke down into sub-sects and spread far beyond the confines of Ādharbayjān. A later writer¹³ who lived among them in the Lur Valleys in the medieval towns of Mehrjān qadaq and Masabadhān summarizes their beliefs as including the belief in "return" and the transmigration of the soul, asserting that when the spirit returns, it is in a different body and with a different name. It is hard to determine to what degree this included the theory of incarnation of a deity. The *Fihrist* definitely asserts Bābak claimed he was God.⁸ Arsacid coins of the first century B.C. and later bear such inscriptions as Theopater and Theogenitos, and the Roman slave girl Musa identified herself as Thea Urania, but these do not actually claim divinity as was common among the Ptolemaic kings or those of the late Roman Empire. The Sasanians believed in Divine Right but Divine Incarnation was possibly left for others to claim. The Khurramīyah claims are not clear as to whether the transferred spirit was purely a human one or might have been originally of divine origin. It would be strange if there were not a tinge of the latter. Further beliefs represent a high degree of syncretism such as that, although apostles spoke in different tongues, and codes and religious systems differ, yet they are all inspired by the same Spirit. Revelation never ceases but only its expression differs and all adherents of any faith are right as long as they accept two basic tenets: (a) hope for a reward for the good

¹² Tabarī, III, 1171, 17 ff; Balādhurī, 331, 3; Yāqūt, I, 822, 16 f.

¹³ Encyclopaedia of Islam, II, 975 under the name "Khurramīyah" gives a quotation from Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir.

life and (b) punishment for evil. They were tolerant and did not denounce or defame people of other patterns of belief, provided the latter did not show an aggressive attitude toward them. In spite of the abhorrence in which most writers held Bābak it is stated that later adherents tried to avoid bloodshed except when forced into rebellion. These later sectarians had included a reverence for Abū Muslim of Khurāsān and his descendant Mahdī bin Fīrūz, but it is doubtful if Bābak with his strong nationalistic outlook included any Arab or Muslim heroes even though they were Iranian heretics in his reverence. The Khurramīyah community was administered by Imāms, who handled legal questions, and Firishte (Messengers or Angels) who circulated among them for religious inspiration and education. Their theology was based on belief in the two great spiritual powers symbolized by Light and Darkness. In their personal conduct, they favored drinking of wine but were most scrupulous in cleanliness and purity, were anxious to win favor by spontaneous acts of kindness and "permitted promiscuity among the sexes where the women consent." Back of their whole pattern of thought was the philosophy of hedonism often as lofty as the philosophy of Epicurus, for they advocated "enjoyment of anything craved by the natural mind provided no injury result to anyone therefrom."¹³ Thus the philosophy of pleasure- (*khurram*) seeking could be highly ethical, as well as dangerous to morality. It is of interest to note the above rather restrained yet favorable statement about the Khurramīyah, inasmuch as their wine drinking and promiscuity among the sexes became a tool of satire and scorn among their critics.¹⁴

In two individuals whom fate brought into military conflict, we find a wealth of small detail of immense value

¹⁴ Dr. Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, Professor at the Fu'ād al-Awwal University at Cairo published in 1944 a two volume work entitled, *Ta'rikh al-Islām* (al-Nahdat al-Miṣri Press). Volume two comprises the First Abbasid Caliphate history. It collects a mass of material on the various heretic sects that flourished throughout that age, the Khurramīyah, the Rāwandī, the Zindīqs and others. These represented the revival of various Iranian cults which were looked upon with the utmost abhorrence by orthodox Sunnī writers. Every type of calumny was heaped upon these sectarians, wherefore it is hard to get a balanced judgment today. Favorable information was largely destroyed.

which indicates the shallowness of Arab and Muslim penetration during the first half of the ninth century in these areas on the northeastern flank of the Abbasid world. These two men are Bābak of Badhdh and his conquerer Ḥaydar bin Kā'ūs al-Afshīn of Ushrūsnah. The former as we have seen, tried to re-establish the principle of autonomy to the rule of Ādharbayjān. The latter was an Iranian Prince of the small province of Ushrūsnah neighboring the state of Sughd (Sogdiana) on the upper branches of the Zarāfshān Rūd in modern Ferghāna. A review of the conflict between these two men and its results is of great importance for understanding that the temper of modern Iran and its revolt against Arab and Muslim culture and traditions are but a new phase of a recurrent motif.

The records of the years 201–220 A.H. (816/7–835/6 A.D.) list a series of generals appointed by the Caliph al-Ma'mūn to fight Bābak and an equal number of defeats. "In the year 204 Yaḥyā bin Mu'ādh was sent against Bābak—in 205 al-Ma'mūn appointed 'Isā bin Muḥammad—then in 207 he appointed 'Abdullāh bin Ṭāhir—and later 'Alī bin Hishām," so the dreary record goes.¹⁵ So consistent were the defeats of al-Ma'mūn's forces that the energetic Christian apologist Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī moulded this into a tool for defending his own faith. The Muslim of his day argued that victory was a sign of God's approval in establishing Islām. Then, replied al-Kindī, if this argument is true, one must argue that Bābak is assisted by God for he has been victorious over all the armies sent into the field by the Commander of the Faithful.¹⁶

To create a security zone toward the south, Bābak dismantled all the fortifications south of Marāghah and along the Zenjān road, indicating that he contemplated no offensive campaign but wished to destroy the fortifications so they would be useless to the forces of the Caliph. Meanwhile al-Ma'mūn died and his successor al-Mu'taṣim billāh

¹⁵ Ṭabarī, III, 1039, 1044, 1065, etc.

¹⁶ *The Apology of al-Kindi*, published by the Society for the Propagation of the Christian Gospel, London. The author Ya'qūb bin Ishāq al-Kindī was in the Court of al-Ma'mūn and a contemporary of Bābak.

assumed the title of Caliph, moving his capital to Sāmarrā. From there he contemplated a more vigorous campaign to recover the large area lost to Islām and tribute. In the year 220 A.H. (835/6) the Caliph hired a group of mixed mercenaries: Turks under Boghā the Elder, Sughd troops under their king, and Kūfā volunteers, placing them under Ḥaydar bin Kā'ūs the Prince (Afshīn) of Ushrūsnaḥ.¹⁷ However, the strategy of the campaign can be ignored in this study as the main purpose is to discover the ideas inspiring the two contestants. The actual fighting occupied almost three years and involved "buying off" Bābak's ally Muḥammad bin Ba'ith who betrayed one of Bābak's generals Iṣmat; rebuilding the demolished fortifications; drawing a noose around Badhhdh; establishing advanced bases, first at Ardabīl, then at Barzand and finally at Hashtād Sar, only a few miles east of Badhhdh. There were raids and counter-raids upon supply columns for a period of almost three years, but finally in the spring of the year 222 A.H. (837 A.D.) a seemingly complete siege of Badhhdh had been affected. At this time occurred an incident which affords a clew to the attitude of the Khurramī towards Islām. With the city of Badhhdh beleaguered, Ādhīn, one of the generals under Bābak, took a force of 10,000 men and with his family pushed outside the city. Bābak advised him to keep his family in a strongly fortified position but Ādhīn in utter scorn of the fighting qualities of the enemy replied, "I shall not protect my family by fortifications from those Jews—meaning the Muslims." This term of opprobrium and insult was later used by Bābak but the scorn of Ādhīn and the under-estimation of the ability of the enemy cost him dear. Leaving his family on a small hill in an open plain with a guard of only 1,000 men, they were overwhelmed at night and captured by the forces of the Caliph.¹⁸

As the noose tightened about Bābak, an attempt was made to find an ally in the person of Theophilus of Byzan-

¹⁷ Tabarī, III, 1170-1235 gives a lengthy account of the campaign of Afshīn against Bābak and later against the Byzantine forces in Asia Minor. It indicates he was one of the most brilliant of the commanders of his age.

¹⁸ Tabarī, III, 1195-1197, 1226.

tium, then engaged in a bitter struggle with the Muslim forces around Tarsus.¹⁹ The latter was able neither to draw off any forces attacking Bābak nor to send reinforcements and nothing came of the negotiations. In fact, the war going against Theophilus, the Caliph finally was enabled to release some of his forces engaged in the west and send them to strengthen the army in Ādharbayjān. Before arranging a final attack, negotiations took place between Afshīn and Bābak²⁰ in which Afshīn promised to try to get a letter of immunity if Bābak would surrender.²¹ He also tried to overawe Bābak by stating that although he had only 30,000 warriors with him at the time, the Caliph had 300,000 in reserve and the end was inevitable. Nevertheless Bābak did not trust such promises and continued to fight till the city was about to fall. Then at night he, one of his generals, his mother, wife and brother 'Abdullāh with a family servant escaped to the mountains of Armenia (the Karabagh). Afshīn offered a prize of 10,000 dirhems for his head and organized a mammoth man-hunt, sending out 5,000 men in companies of 100 and 200 and notifying all officials in the area that they should be on the lookout for the fugitives. Ten days after his flight, the letter of immunity arrived from the Caliph and in order to get it to Bābak, one of his captured sons was given the missive and sent into the mountains to discover his father. The latter, confronted with the letter, repudiated the idea of surrender and declared that no true son of his would attempt to persuade him to surrender to the Caliph. Eventually the presence of the refugees was disclosed by a mountaineer who detected their presence while trying to get water from a spring. He hastened to report them to the Patricius (later rewarded with

¹⁹ For a consecutive narrative of the campaign, consult H. Zotenberg's *Chronique* mentioned in footnote 8.

²⁰ Ṭabarī, III, 1226.

²¹ In the priceless thirteenth century copy of the translation of Ṭabarī by al-Bal'amī, Minister of the Samanid Court of Bokhara in 352 A.H., there are two miniature paintings of the meeting of Bābak with Afshīn. In the upper picture Bābak is standing on the ramparts at the head of a zigzag stairway while Afshīn, mounted, addresses him. The lower picture shows the two tilting in the field of battle. The costumes are of a late style—Mongolian—according to the artist. These are found in the *Miniatures Persans* by Georges Marteau et Henri Vever. Paris, 1913. Vol. 1, Plate XLVII.

this office) Sahl ibn Sunbāt who had formerly been a partisan of Bābak's, but who, warned by Afshīn, had determined to collect the prize. He therefore rode out to the place where the party were and meeting Bābak, greeted him, asking where he was going. Bābak replied that he was on his way to meet his ally Theophilus at Byzantium who would give him reinforcements. Sahl encouraged him to stay in his castle for a while, as he was independent of the Caliph and a partisan of Bābak. He thus lured Bābak and his party into his castle. Mas'ūdī gives an abbreviated summary of the story²² saying that while at dinner, Bābak upbraided Sahl for sitting at the head of the table in his presence—thus implying equality of rank, whereupon Sahl apologized, rose and gave the signal for his servants who came in with heavy chains and bound Bābak as a prisoner. But the story told in Ṭabarī is far more detailed and colorful.²³ To be certain that he had the right prisoner, Sahl sent word to Afshīn of the arrival of the refugees and asked for someone to make positive identification. Afshīn sent a Khurāsānī who knew Bābak and in order to gain entrance to the castle, he was introduced into the group as a menial. This man certified the person to be Bābak. In order to make certain, a stratagem was planned. 'Abdullah was sent off as guest to 'Isā bin Yūsuf, another Christian official, while an elaborate hunting party was arranged for Bābak. Riding their mounts, Bābak carrying a falcon on his wrist, the party was guided into an ambush where lay a party of Afshīn's men who confronted and arrested the guest. Bābak, sensing the betrayal, turned upon his host with the utmost scorn and ejaculated, "You have sold me to the Jews for a small price. If you had wanted money and asked for it I would have given you far more than these would give."²⁴

There are no records which indicate any large number of Jews in Ādharbayjān before or during this period. Yet evidently there was sufficient information affording a comparison between Jewish and Muslim patterns of thought.

²² Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 124 f.

²³ Ṭabarī, III, 1222-1226; Zotenberg, *Chronique*, pp. 535-539.

²⁴ Ṭabarī, III, 1226-1227.

Doubtless Bābak was speaking invectively when he refused to recognize in Arab and Muslim authority anything but a Jewish significance but this becomes of increased importance when we recall that to the Iranian, all Semitic culture was regarded as alien and inferior. Furthermore the Arabs had proven themselves "degenerate" in fighting quality as well. For twenty years Bābak had beaten down every Arab army. In the siege of Badhdh he had routed the Kūfā volunteers. Then the Arab (as represented by the Caliphate), recognizing the hopelessness of Arab effort to suppress an Iranian revival, had descended to hiring mercenary Iranians and only in this way had discipline been re-established. To Bābak, therefore, the Arab was similar to the Jew, whether in language, religion, culture or fighting quality. So he could turn upon his captors even when facing death and accuse them of "selling him to the Jews."

Dressed in a white coat of mail, wearing a white turban and short boots, Bābak was tied on a horse and taken to the army headquarters at Barzand, where al-Afshīn had his headquarters and where the other prisoners were held. On the day of Bābak's approach, these prisoners were lined up in two ranks and the fallen chief made to dismount and walk toward his captor through the lines of familiar friends. A frenzied uproar of weeping and beating of breast arose and Afshīn in exasperation yelled at them "God curse you! Why do you weep and wail?" They replied, "But he was good to us."²⁴

Sumptuous celebrations were arranged to coincide with the arrival of al-Afshīn and his feared prisoner in Sāmarrā. From beyond Hulwān (near modern Qasr Shirīn) to Sāmarrā relays of horses were placed every four miles. Yet snows in the plateau delayed the arrival of the cavalcade. A committee led by Hārūn, son of the Caliph, was dispatched to Qantarāt Hudhaifah (near modern Sahneh, east of Bisi-tūn) to accompany the party but this had been arranged by the young man primarily out of eagerness to be the first to see the prisoner. Late one night, the famous captive was finally placed in the prison after passing through a throng

of massed spectators held apart by two rows of horsemen and infantry stretching in a line twenty miles long from the village of Qaṭūl to the capital.²⁵ Unable to restrain his curiosity, the Caliph himself dressed in disguise and visited Bābak in the prison without revealing his identity. The next morning, to publicize the great victory, Bābak was mounted upon an elephant gaily decorated with green, red and many colored silken trappings, a gift of the King of India to the Caliph, and paraded from the prison at the Public Gate to the court of the Maṭayarraḥ Castle. Having dismounted, a butcher (*jazzār*) severed his right hand. His face was then struck with the dismembered hand. Next the butcher performed the act upon the left hand and struck his face with that. His feet were then cut off one by one after which a sword was plunged into his vitals.²⁶ The head was then cut off and sent to Khurāsān for exhibition while the body was crucified upon the city gate on a scaffold which came to be known by the name of "The Scaffold of Bābak." His brother 'Abdullah was sent to Baghdād where he was crucified upon the eastern bank between the two bridges, the sword-bearer Nūd Nūd was likewise brutally cut to pieces, thus bringing to an end the house of Bābak.

Ṭabarī summarizes the rewards thus: the captor of Bābak received 100,000 dirhems. Sahl ibn Sunbāt received the office of Patricius and one million dirhems. 'Isā bin Yūsuf, known as the nephew of Stephen, King of Balaqān, with whom 'Abdullah had been at the time of his capture, was later entrusted with the government of Sind. Some nights later, poets came to the Caliph and recited poems of victory which are preserved in the record of Mas'ūdī, whereupon they were given gifts. Al-Afshīn and his son Shāhīn received clothing embroidered with jewels and twenty million dirhems and the latter was married to a famous beauty. Bābak was credited with having killed 255,000 people, (although

²⁵ This detail is supplied in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 127. The remainder of the narrative is found in Ṭabarī, III, 1228-1231.

²⁶ Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 130.

another source makes it at least 500,000) and with having defeated a long list of Arab generals.²⁷

With the death of Bābak, the destruction of his state and the triumph of the Caliph, a peaceful future for orthodox Islām might seem to have been assured. But within two years, the hollowness of the acceptance of Islamic forms was to be still more astonishingly revealed in the very person of al-Afshīn himself. His hatred and scorn for things Arabic and Islamic were exposed by a series of events that followed further victories of his in Anatolia in the year 223 A.H. (837/8).²⁸ Yet each victory earned for Afshīn new enemies who resented his ability and popularity and who assiduously set about to destroy him. They organized and soon discovered damning proof that Afshīn was a heretic and they produced charges of disloyalty to the Caliph. The latter involved two persons with whom Afshīn had dealings. Whatever the real nature of these dealings was, they were so interpreted as to involve Afshīn in a trial for treason. The semblance of proof which was collected was given to the Caliph who in the year 225 A.H. (839/40) imprisoned Afshīn and ordered a trial. The charges consisted in five main points. The prosecutors were Muḥammad 'Abdul Malik and several others whose names will appear later.²⁹

The details of the trial not only throw a flood of light on the character and personality of al-Afshīn but contribute to an understanding of the language conditions, religious beliefs and customs of the region extending from Ādharbayjān to the borders of Mongolia. They indicate the contempt with which chiefs of States regarded Islamic forms, the appeal which Iranian princely blood had upon great masses of the people, the persistence of Iranian speech, ideas and ritual in social intercourse and the low opinion Iranians had for people of Arab blood. Moreover there was a world of intrigue against the Caliphate in which the Iranian elements were learning, to their sorrow, that the real danger to Iranian

²⁷ Tabarī, III, 1233, 2 f., Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 132 quotes one of the poems composed on this occasion. Mas'ūdī is also responsible for the large estimate of half a million deaths as a result of Bābak's wars. It is found in his *Tanbih*, p. 353.

²⁸ Tabarī, III, 1235-1269.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1308-1319.

survival was not the Arab master, but mercenary Iranians who, because of personal animosities or ambitions, exposed their friends and aided their common foe. But these points can best be presented by the unfolding of the trial as it is recorded in the long narrative of Ṭabarī.²⁹ He evidently had access to records which preserved a great deal of the word-play indulged in by the actors in the drama.

Afshin was held in a prison built like a minaret around which patrols were keeping guard when the prosecutor entered. Beside the four named in the following interrogation, there was present also a group of nobles and witnesses. Muḥammad 'Abdul Malik called in two men from the Sughd who were asked what they had to state. They exposed their backs which were "denuded of flesh" from beatings. Afshin was asked if he knew the men and he replied, "Yes, this one is the Mu'adhdhin (caller to prayer) and that one is the Imām (leader of prayers) who made a *masjid* (mosque) in Ushrūsnah. I beat each one with a thousand strokes because between me (as Prince) and the King of the Sughd was a treaty and an agreement on conditions, among which was one that I should leave each religious group to enjoy its own religion. These two men did not obey but they took possession of the shrine in which there were idols belonging to the people of Ushrūsnah. They cast out the idols and transformed the shrine into a mosque. So I punished them with a beating of a thousand strokes because of the excess they had committed and because of their keeping the people from their shrine."³⁰ In this protection afforded to a pagan shrine, we have an echo of the treaty made at Ardabīl in which the Fire Temple at Shīz was to be revered.¹ However, the violence of Afshin's punishment meted out to the offender, can scarcely be attributed to his desire to live by Muslim precedents of tolerance but, as subsequent events will prove, because he was a secret worshiper of the Magian shrines himself and he was using his authority to discourage too zealous proselytizing on the part of his Muslim subjects.

²⁹ Ibid., 1308-1309.

Muḥammad bin 'Abdul Malik next referred to a book which belonged to Afshīn and asked him, "What is that book which you have ornamented with gold and jewels although its preface contains blasphemy against God?" Afshīn replied, "I inherited this book from my father. In it are the literary and cultural traditions of the Iranians. As for what you mention about the blasphemous, I have been enjoying the cultural part of it and ignoring the rest. I found it adorned with jewels and nothing constrained me to remove such adornment from it so I left it as it was—just like the book *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*, and the book of Mazdaq in your house, nor did I think that this veered away from Islām."³¹

Afshīn seems to be trying to praise Iranian ideas and culture without insulting Islām. One can also see the esthetic appreciation of the beauty of Iranian art, the elegantly decorated book covers, with probably whole pages of miniature paintings inside. All of these were looked upon by the Arab as "blasphemy." But of all these things Afshīn was justly proud: he claimed that through these he had developed his personality. It is as though he was subtly suggesting to the Arab that their manners, their personalities and literature could be greatly enriched by studying this accumulated heritage of culture rather than condemning it as blasphemy, which was a suggestion being carried out at that time in Baghdād.

The stern prosecutor proceeded with the trial by calling in one of Afshīn's former fellow religionists—a *mūbadh* or High Priest who testified as follows:³²

"He (Afshīn) used to eat the flesh of strangled animals and urge me to partake of it also, claiming that its flesh was tenderer than that of slaughtered animals. He also used to kill a black ewe each Wednesday, cutting it in half with the sword and then walking between the two halves, after which he would eat the flesh. He also said to me one day, 'I have become one of these people (the Arabs) in all things

³¹ Ibid., 1309: 9-14.

³² Ibid., 1309:15. *Mūbadh* is the Arabicized rendition of *Maha-bad* (Great Chief).

which I detest even including eating their oil, riding camels and wearing their sandals. But to this day, not a hair has fallen from me,' meaning that he had not used depilatories nor undergone circumcision."

Afshin was evidently somewhat shaken by this betrayal, for he turned to the *mūbadh*, pointing out that when he had confided his secrets to him, the *mūbadh* had been a professed Magian and it was some time later that he had been caught by officers of the Caliph and become a Muslim. Afshin therefore argued that the man could not be accepted as a trustworthy witness and turning to him said, "Was there a door or a small window between your residence and mine through which you spied upon me and obtained information about all my affairs? Rather did I not bring you into my room and confide my secrets unto you? Did I not inform you of the Iranian culture, my inclination toward it and for the people to whom it belongs?" The *mūbadh* assented to this. Whereupon Afshin turned upon his judges with this question: "Tell me whether this fellow who speaks in this manner is worthy of credence in his religion?" They answered in the negative. "Then," Afshin retorted, "what is the value of testimony from one whom you do not trust and you do not consider trustworthy?" At this point the prosecutor withdrew the *mūbadh*.

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(to be concluded in our next issue)

BOOK REVIEWS

Autobiography of a Yogi. By Paramhansa Yogananda. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1946. pp. xvi, 498.

There is very little of specific importance to students of Islam in this *Autobiography of Yogi Parahansa Yogananda*, except as esoteric and mystic experiences of Islam are valid to the Self-Realization Church of all Religions, of which the Swami is founder and leader.

There is, however, some general importance to this book for students of religion. It recounts the experiences and teachings of a number of Hindu Vedantic leaders, whose purpose is Self-Realization, and who have established the informal training centers traditional to Hindu religious education. These forces all played on the author of the *Autobiography*, and the American centers of the Self-Realization Fellowship are the result.

Of interest to readers of this periodical is the constant use of Christian terminology, particularly the goal of religion which is termed "Christ-consciousness."

One chapter is typical of the whole, and recounts and describes the experiences of Sri Yukteswar, one of the gurus of the Swami, with a Muslim faqir who was a wonder worker, performing extraordinary miracles. The Swami accepts with childlike credence the validity of these miracles (perhaps our Western skepticism denies us many things), and points through them an ethical lesson. Afzal Kahn was not of high moral character for he was greedy of this world's goods. His guru finally materialized before him, and taught him that such powers must be removed from anyone who does not use them for good.

It is rather interesting that the training of Swami Yogananda was in Christian colleges. An excellent example of the type of experience recorded here is the instance where Sri Yukteswar calmly announces to the Swami that his last two years at college would be at Serampore. At that time there was no course at Serampore College leading to a Bachelor of Arts. One is led to believe that in the background of the establishment of such a course was the sheer will of Sri Yukteswar who brought it about in order that Yogananda might be with him to study Yoga while pursuing his work at the college.

One emerges with the impression that here is a sincere seeker after the spiritual aims of life. This same sincere seeker, however, is no lean ascetic. He has a sense of humor, and one must confess that he appears at times to be amused at his own egotism and exhibitionism. Perhaps a plump and silk-clad Yogi is the missionary adaptation to the culture of the Pacific-kissed shores of Southern California.

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MALCOLM PITT

Visages de l'Islam. By Haidar Bammate (George Rivoire). Lausanne, Librairie Payot, 1946. pp. 600. Swiss fr. 12.50.

As the peoples of the world are struggling to get a clear picture of their surroundings after the second bloody world conflagration

within our century, they become aware of new situations to which they are compelled to adjust themselves. It may well be true what Mr. Bammate states in the preface of his book, *Aspects of Islam*: "The center of gravity of world politics is precipitately being displaced from the Mediterranean to the Pacific Ocean." But he also holds that the Mediterranean maintains its traditional importance, and perhaps increasingly so, as the maritime route linking the East and the West together. The southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean, as well as the vast regions between the Middle and Far East, are inhabited by Muslims; and as the Mediterranean basin enters upon "a new era of competition," this Muslim World is bound to be of fundamental importance to the competitors of tomorrow.

Facing this situation Mr. Bammate attempts to present Islam in its deep affinities to Christianity; Christianity being synonymous with Western Civilization. As a matter of fact, he does not see two different cultures, but rather two branches of a larger cultural unit, the Mediterranean Civilization. This culture has its roots planted deep in the soil of the old Egyptian, Sumerian, Babylonian, and Hittite civilizations, which through the Greek and Hellenistic cultures were introduced to the West. Christian and Islamic philosophy alike were inspired by Platonism and Neo-Platonism, which stand out as the purest examples of the blending of Eastern and Western thinking. After the collapse of the Byzantine empire, it was Islam that carried this great heritage to later generations. Not only did it preserve classical culture values, but its own power of creation was great; so that in philosophy, science, poetry and art, our Western Civilization is deeply indebted to Mediaeval Islam.

In describing the values and merits of Islam, Mr. Bammate is anxious to present a true picture of its system and historical significance, as against the traditional opinions of the West. He admits that Orientalists have made sincere studies of various aspects of Islam, but their works are too specific for the ordinary thinking man. His contribution is intended to be a presentation of Islam, in its various aspects, that may be studied with profit by the average reader, who if he so desires, may find more specific material in the works referred to in the text. (Mr. Bammate does not seem to be familiar with Anglo-American literature.)

The desire to give a "true" picture of a situation, as against an opinion that may be entirely wrong, but which has obtained established authority, may lead anyone to overemphasize his reaction. Having read this book, the resultant impression is that Islam is a great idea, expressed in sublime philosophical terms, an inspiration of science and arts, which reached to very high peaks of achievement. Islam's wars of expansion were motivated by the desire to liberate the oppressed and bring them into the liberal Muslim brotherhood.

No doubt, Islam, at its best, produced men of great dimensions and Mr. Bammate gives good accounts of the most important of them. Its historical importance should not be underestimated, even the present configuration should be regarded with due respect. However, it would not be correct to leave the human element entirely out of the picture. The wars of Islam were probably not more ideal-

istic than wars usually are. Nor is it possible to discard all popular features and pagan survivals in Islam by merely labeling them as "later additions," not so long as they are part of the system by assimilation. If one were to consider Islam only by its idealistic standards, its success measured in figures might be utterly disappointing.

In comparing Islam and Christianity it is not satisfactory to consider incidents only. It is also necessary to make a differentiation between Christianity as a religion and Western Civilization. The Crusades certainly were a feature of Western Civilization, but they are not compatible with the Christian principle of love, nor are any persecutions that may have occurred in the course of history.

In this volume of 600 pages Mr. Bammate offers valuable information about Islam as a religion as well as a civilization. His language (French) is clear and smooth. From a technical view point it would have increased the value of the book if a formal bibliography had been added. There is a certain lack of consistency in the transliteration of Arabic names; and a few statements would certainly not have been made if the writer had checked his sources more carefully. It is not correct that we don't know about "one single authentic conversion" from Islam to Christianity in India (p. 33). It also is rather difficult to understand the close connection between Alexandria and the Gospel (L'Evangile), which to the writer seems to be of great importance. The importance of the Hellenistic culture and the Greek language as mediums for the propagation of the Christian message is well known. But it is somewhat farfetched to let the New Testament spring out of Alexandria (p. 571) in order to connect its contents with "ancient Egyptian beliefs."

HANS L. HANSEN

Hartford, Conn.

The World's Great Scriptures. An Anthology of the Sacred Books of the Ten Principal Religions. By Lewis Browne. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1946. pp. 559. \$5.00. Illustrated.

The World's Great Scriptures is an anthology which includes selections from the sacred writings of Babylonia, Egypt, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In addition to the selections there is a historical introduction to each religion and interpretive comments on the selections.

The author, Lewis Browne, was formerly Rabbi of the Free Synagogue of Newark, N. J., but left that work in 1926 in order to devote his time to writing and lecturing. He is the author of thirteen books.

Of special interest to the readers of THE MUSLIM WORLD is the section entitled The Scriptures of Mohammedanism. This includes a short introduction to Islam and a separate short article on the Koran. The subject matter is treated sympathetically. The selections from the Koran include parts or all of the following Surahs: 1, 2, 4, 13, 16, 17, 23, 24, 35, 47, 49, 56, 64, 65, 81, 83, 93, 100, 101, 102, 104, 107, 112, and 113. The translation and the comments are taken from the eighth edition of George Sale's work.

The volume itself is very attractive containing maps and many decorations which were designed by Lewis Browne.

C. HANS EVANS

Coatesville, Pa.

Reading and Speaking Foreign Languages. By Dr. H. R. Huse. Chapel Hill, N. C., University of North Carolina Press, 1945. pp. 128. \$2.00.

Here is a book that is being hotly debated in circles of language teachers. The most of the reviews that have thus far appeared have been hostile, for the author calls into question some of the newer methods of instruction insofar as they are applied in the curricula of our present-day secondary schools and colleges.

The author is a professor of Romance Languages in the University of North Carolina. He has other books in the language field to his credit, and also experience during the war in the army language teaching program (A.S.T.P.). In 1945 he felt that an accurate evaluation of the A.S.T.P. must wait for "a period of less universal dementia," but he was convinced that reform in language instruction in schools and colleges was urgent. "In many secondary schools and some colleges, all language study has been threatened with extinction." In the hope of furthering, and even saving, the study of languages in our schools, the author writes here his suggestions for putting foreign language instruction on a scientific basis and for eliminating an enormous waste of student time and effort.

The book is composed of these four parts: A Criticism of Foreign Languages Instruction; A Defense of Foreign Language Study; Methods, Word Counts, Textbooks; Suggestions for a Scientific Method of Language Teaching.

The author fairly springs into his subject in the first chapter, *The Talent for Speaking*. "Facility in speech is almost wholly unrelated to serious intellectual powers . . . low-grade feeble-minded persons sometimes show facility in the use of several languages . . . young children pick up languages faster than older ones . . . linguistic ability is a function of immaturity . . . the adult has too many and complicated thoughts to express." But, "In acquiring a reading knowledge of a foreign language the adult has an enormous advantage over the child."

A chapter is devoted to bilingualism. It is treated as a problem in such countries as Switzerland, Belgium, Wales, and Quebec, and offers citations from various scholars "who suspect bilingualism of retarding mental development . . ."

The author's main question is, "Shall the student of a foreign language begin by trying to speak or by learning to read?" He maintains that in our present setup in the schools students can hardly hope to learn to speak a foreign language but that they can expect to acquire a considerable reading knowledge. He adds that if the success of a course is to be measured by skill in speaking everybody will be disappointed—students, parents, and teachers.

After the presentation of this rather pessimistic material, the author launches into a eulogy of the benefits of foreign language study and makes a strong case against those who advocate a reduction in the time allotted to language courses in our schools. "To eliminate

study of foreign language and literature is to prescribe still more of the provincialism from which we suffer."

The chapter on the Battle of the Methods (Direct, Grammar, Natural, etc.) will be of special interest to teachers, yet full of interesting information for the non-expert. Here again the author presents his thesis that reading and speaking are such different processes that only a waste of time can result from trying to combine them in a single course. The author speaks for a minority who are in conflict with those who advocate that students should be introduced at once to the spoken language, and who believe that the limited time devoted to languages can be better spent in learning to read.

The chapter on Word Counts and Units of Expression will hold the attention of anyone who has seriously studied a language and offer helpful suggestions for taking up a new one.

The final chapter, A Plan for Teaching How to Read, opens thus: "If Reading Knowledge alone is to be required in public schools, most of the textbooks in current use will have to be changed, since nearly all of them compromise with the quite separate aims of teaching how to write and speak. The waste in doing this too great and too obvious."

Using French as an example, the author shows how to deal with the inflected forms in the shortest possible time, how to learn words through "sound associations and logical associations", and how to collect "difficult words" and idioms for special study.

The reviewer suspects that this last chapter is the plan professor Huse employs in training candidates for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy so that they may get their required "reading knowledge" of a foreign language in a single summer of intensive study, a result that a good number of universities are securing in that same short time.

The "army method" of teaching languages during the war secured so many good results that it is affecting the teaching plans in many secondary schools and colleges. Ere long what is now a matter of debate between methods will become a matter of statistical tables from which teachers will draw inferences. In the meantime the student can get help and information and even entertainment from professor Huse's book.

The young candidate for the mission field faces the problems opened up by this book. If he tries to get a look into the language of his field before leaving this country, should he spend the most of his time in the spoken language or in trying to read the greatest possible amount? The majority vote would be for the speaking practice. Yet there is something to be said for a concentrated study of grammar and reading for the candidate before he sails, for he will be having practice in conversation the rest of his life.

Uncasville, Conn.

WILLIAM E. LOWTHER

Lund Humphries Modern Language Readers: Arabic. By Chaim Rabin. London, 1947. pp. viii, 174.

As the adverse criticisms of this worthwhile publication are so few, they can be dealt with at once. We confess that we should have

liked (anyhow the first half dozen) of the Extracts to have been printed in larger type. Some beginning students will be "put off" by the unpointed smallness of the Arabic in spite of the encouragement meted out in the Preface. Secondly, perhaps it will be argued right from the nature of the case, the total literary impression is that the rest of the Arabic speaking world must or does bow to Egypt. The Extracts are largely "Cairene," though we are glad to note that Syria, Iraq and the Lebanon (to which country Arabic renaissance owes so much) do get a "look in." Still a book for the general use of people going to Arabic-speaking lands should be as "catholic" as can be.

There should be appreciation of the care with which these Extracts have been made—the tiny biographical sketches of the authors chosen is a happy idea: of the Foreword itself, which is one of the ones which should be read: of the vowelled vocabulary—much better for learning *Classical* Arabic than a translation of the text on the opposite page: of the Grammar Notes which help the student—already reckoned to know something of "accidence"—to an inductive study of one of the most logical Grammar systems: of the collections of Proverbs, so dear to the heart of the Semite, and without some of which in his repertoire hardly anyone can presume to live among Arab tribes whether in "the desert or the town" or the city.

There is a Preface by the General Editor of the Modern Language (2). Readers, followed by the Author's Foreword, who is the Cowley Lecturer in Post-Biblical Hebrew at Oxford. In this he tells us that he wants his "selections . . . to fulfil the double purpose of providing practice in modern literary style," as well as to awaken interest in the writers themselves on the part of the student. He has certainly made an attractive book. There is no doubt that almost the main rule for acquiring and maintaining a knowledge of Classical Arabic is "Read." It might be considered in a future edition as to whether Arabic terminology is not as useful as English for "Nahu" rules, especially in dealing with the "mansu;ba:t." The Notes are not all grammatical, which makes for general knowledgeability. The Extracts themselves raise interesting questions, and the student gets introduced to Egyptian worthies from the Builder of the Pyramid to Sa 'd Zaghlul. Lastly we are glad that the Editor has included Christian Arab writers as well as Muslim, while we commend him for his hope that his work "will do something towards furthering the understanding of the awakening Arab world, its problems and its hopes." Scholarship has a very definite place in the whole western approach to the Arab world. Here is one example.

Jerusalem

ERIC F. F. BISHOP

Encyclopedia of Literature, edited by Joseph T. Shipley. New York, Philosophical Library, 1946. Two volumes, pp. 571, 617. Price \$12.00.

The *Encyclopedia of Literature* seeks to survey world literature from its earliest records to its latest documents, in two volumes of 571 and 617 pages respectively. An enterprise at once so vast and complex and yet so compact under the direction of one man may seem to have been venturesome. But Dr. Shipley has displayed remarkable acumen in the choice and spacing of the some seventy-five

articles which make up the two volumes; and his specialists have on the whole overcome the limits of space imposed upon them and discussed their subjects adequately and sometimes even with an engaging freshness.

Anomalies, of course, there are: Welsh literature, for example, occupies some twenty-five pages, Jewish literature, not counting about three pages devoted to the Old Testament and Apocrypha, fills some forty pages, and Indian literature some one hundred and thirty-one pages, while Latin literature is disposed of in twenty pages, Greek in twenty-five, and Chinese in twenty-two. Such discrepancies may be due to the enthusiasm of particular scholars, or to the stage, perhaps, to which scholarship has attained in its critical analysis and organic synthesis of the various literatures of the world. For to gauge the relative merits of any literature, just as literature, is difficult enough even after centuries of comparative study, so many subjective and historical elements enter into the account, while to give it its proper place as an influence in world literature raises perhaps even nicer problems. That influence, however, is at least as objective a standard as can be applied in measuring the relative worth of any piece of literature, or any literature as a whole, and specialists, who are immediately concerned as a rule only with developments in their own fields, cannot be expected to give it much consideration, or space, if any.

To take a case in point. The Old Testament and Apocrypha are treated quite properly as a part of Hebrew literature and receive a little over three of the twenty and a half pages allotted to that subject. The Old Testament and Apocrypha are undoubtedly Hebrew literature, and no one will find much fault with the specialist's judgment regarding the space to which they are entitled as a part of the Hebrew literature of the Jewish people. But the whole role of the Old Testament and Apocrypha in Christendom and their immeasurable influence on the style and matter of the Christian literatures of Europe have thereby been relegated to a few colourless and toothless sentences, which the specialists in some fifteen of these literatures have thought fit, or found convenient, to insert into their articles. Judaeo-Spanish literature gets almost as much space as the Old Testament and Apocrypha for some reason or other.

Seven Semitic literatures are surveyed in the two volumes; Accadian, Arabic, Aramaic, Canaanite, Ethiopic, Hebrew and Maltese. Accadian, or Assyro-Babylonian, literature is reviewed briefly but very judiciously by Dr. S. N. Kramer in two and a half pages. Dr. F. Rosenthal gives a concise but quite comprehensive account of Aramaic literature, including Syriac, in some seven pages. The relations of Canaanite literature to Sumero-Accadian, Hurrian, Egyptian and Hebrew literatures are discussed with clarity and penetration by Professor H. L. Ginsberg in three pages. The merits of Ethiopic literature, both pagan and Christian, are summed up very justly by Professor S. A. B. Mercier in three pages. Hebrew literature, from Beduin ballads of the tenth century B.C. to the poetry, novels, journals and scholarly studies of nineteenth and twentieth century Jewry, is dealt with in detail, too much detail perhaps, by Dr. Leo Auerbach in some twenty-one pages. Persian and Turkish literatures, it may be

remarked in passing, are presented very competently by Dr. Mehmed A. Simsar and Dr. J. K. Birge respectively.

The article on Arabic literature by Professor Edward J. Jurji of Princeton Theological Seminary occupies twenty-nine pages. To press into such small compass the literature of a language that became and has remained for centuries the vehicle of thought and feeling for so many and diverse peoples of Asia, Africa and Europe, and to do it justly, is a formidable undertaking, and under the present conditions of Arabic scholarship perhaps an impossible one, demanding, as it does, some knowledge and a balanced judgment of fifteen centuries or more of literary activity over half the globe and of its impact on world literature.

Dr. Jurji might have eased his labours greatly by taking literature in its narrower sense covering only the production of men of letters and thus excluding from his purview such subjects as Science, Law, Philosophy and Theology, confining himself to the discussion of the poets and essayists, the preachers and story-tellers, the learned and witty composers of the elegant Maqāmahs, those grave sermons or absurd tales in rhymed prose and verse packed with every rhetorical trick and fantastic image, and perhaps even the encyclopedists. But outside the extensive area in which Arabic became the literary language, this literature, with some notable exceptions, has had for various reasons curiously little influence, whereas Arabic Science, Arabic Philosophy and Arabic Theology, dogmatic and mystical, made in their day a deep impression on cultures east and west. Arabic poetry, however rich in prosody, is rather restricted in its range of subject-matter. Save in love and in religion, it seldom plumbs the depth of human emotion; and even in these realms of human interest it tended to become fixed in form and matter. And the essay and maqāmah suffered a like fate. Rarely, as with al-Ma'arri, is human destiny probed and analyzed. Nowhere is the human drama pictured in words that must move the hearts and wills of men. Theology gave the answers to man's dearest needs. The literary art was an occupation for the leisured, or the learned, to while away the hours, or win the favour of princes. It had no serious purpose, but spent its strength for the most part on technicalities, and in the search for abstruse images and recondite phrases. Such a literature could not exert a deep and lasting influence on its neighbour literatures. Arabic historians, geographers and travelers developed, however, a very clear and vigorous prose style.

Dr. Jurji has chosen, then, and very wisely too under these circumstances, to discuss Arabic literature in the widest sense of these terms and has attempted the Herculean task of mapping the whole broad course of Arabic literature, scientific and imaginative, from the epigraphic remains of the seventh century B.C. to the poetry, essays, biographies, journals and learned studies of the decade ending in 1940 A.D., dedicating even some two pages to the "oral literature" of the present-day Beduins and Fallāhīn.

With such an ambitious program and with such breadth of treatment in particular cases,—two whole pages are devoted, for example, to the history, form and content of the Arabian Nights, illuminating tales, no doubt, but for Arab literate just "coffee-house stories"—, it

is no wonder that some periods and kinds of literature have had to be skimmed in space and discussed cursorily. Dr. Jurji gives some three pages to Epigraphic Remains and Pagan Poetry, three to the Qur'ān, two to the literature of the Orthodox Caliphate and Umayyads, two and a half to that of the Abbasids down to the death of al-Ma'mun in 833 A.D., seven to that of the long and kaleidoscopic period stretching from 833 to the end of the Abbasid Caliphate and the seizure of the Caliphate by the Turks in 1517, not only the longest, but the most prolific and important period of Arabic literature, and then some ten pages to modern Arabic letters from 1800 to 1940.

As may be observed, Dr. Jurji has paid special attention to the literature of the modern period, of the development of which, to be sure, not much is known in the West, although some eminent scholars, such as Professor H. A. R. Gibb of Oxford and the Russian Kratchkovsky have studied and discussed it, since the Near East became important again politically. Dr. Jurji's rather detailed presentation of this literature is thus very interesting, but it takes up a disproportionate amount of space and tips the scales of literary judgment gravely. For although this literary activity may be hailed as and may indeed herald a revival of Arabic literature, it has not yet thrown up any outstanding literary figure. It has not yet produced a Wordsworth, a Coleridge, or even a Southey. Its writers are for the most part translators, or followers of classical Arabic norms, or imitators of some European genre such as the novel or the drama. Their significance, apart from the evidence which they afford of an awakening of the Arab literary spirit under the impact of Western culture and political pressure, is still obscure. In themselves they are of no great importance, although they may be the forerunners of a real, imaginative, creative literature, of which they will be recognized later as the founding fathers. That, however, is the most that can be said of them. Their efforts constitute a promise for the future.

But Dr. Jurji's interest in and enthusiasm for modern Arabic writers and works has led him to fore-shorten his picture of the greatest period of Arabic literature and to dismiss many celebrated and deathless names in a line or two and to omit others altogether. Philosophy from al-Kindi to Averroes (850-1198), the whole history practically of Muslim speculative thought, is presented in a paragraph of about a quarter of a page. The chief Islamic philosophers are mentioned only by name; and we are told that they were Aristotelians and that their speculations did not influence the religious development of Islam much, if at all. But al-Ghazzālī (d. 1111), himself a renowned philosopher and one of the most authoritative religious teachers in Islam till this day, thought it worth his while to write a book entitled "*The Destruction of Philosophy*"; and the theological definitions of orthodox Islam rest on the ideas of the philosophers, even if the theologians rejected and necessarily so the philosophers' fundamental postulates.

Al-Ghazzālī, the restorer of religion, gets two lines and is described as a great thinker. Not one of his books is mentioned, although the *Ihyā'* is named later in speaking of the Zaydite al-Murtaḍa's edition of it with commentary; nor are his relations and supreme services to the mystical movement in Islam even referred to in

the two paragraphs devoted to that subject; nor is he rated worthy of a biographical sketch. The philosopher-historian, Ibn Khaldūn, is more fortunate. He receives two separate notices of six and three lines respectively and also a biographical sketch, and the Prolegomena of his great historical work is cited. The famous grammarian, Qur'ān commentator, lexicographer and man of letters, al-Zamakhsharī, is allotted two lines and characterized as a Qur'ān commentator.

But Dr. Jurji could not do other than he has done, once he decided to give such emphasis to the modern age and the Arabian Nights, or even to epigraphical remains and pre-Islamic pagan poetry. A special discussion of that poetry could indeed be justified by the all but throttling influence which it has exercised on the development of the art of poetry in Arabic literature, or by the importance lent to it as a source for the meaning of Qur'ānic words and phrases, or for the study of pagan Arab religious beliefs and practices and tribal manners and views of life. But in itself the poetry of the pagan Arabs is not rich in either form or matter, even if it does disclose a startling maturity of prosody. And it does not serve Muhammad as a model (p. 20, col. 1). As Dr. Jurji himself justly remarks on another occasion (p. 23, col. 1): ". . . the Koran indeed eschewed the highly developed metrical poetry of the pagan age in favor of the oracular rhymed prose (*saj'*) of professional magicians." Muhammad, like Plato, disliked poets because of their associations; and his biographer records that he could not even read poetry correctly.

The Qur'ān, however, does, as Dr. Jurji observes, mark "the end of one era and the beginning of another." But this is so, not so much because of its literary quality as that it became like the Bible the bread of life for millions and the lodestar of scholarship. It and the revolution, which it sparked, created a new age and brought to pass a new synthesis of ideas in many realms of thought; and because of it new sciences and fields of learning came to birth. But its style was for the pious inimitable and for the impious infelicitous at least. Some rhetorical merits it indeed has. But its profound influence on Arabic literature springs from the fact that it became and remains for the Muslim world by virtue of its acknowledged claim to be God's final word to men the only guide and supreme manual of the religious life and the great storehouse of moral sayings and religious images.

The biographical notices contributed by Dr. Jurji disclose the same idiosyncracies as his article. Of the thirty-four notices that appear at the end of volume II, sixteen are assigned to authors of the modern period such as Amin Rihani, al-Afghani, al-Manfaluti, Jibran Khalil and Muhammad Abduh etc. Of the others seven are dedicated to poets, three to historians, four to men of letters, one to a traveler (Ibn Battūṭah), one to a philosopher (Ibn Sīnā), and one to a theologian (al-Suyūṭī). A more critical choice of men to be so celebrated should perhaps have been made.

On page 20, col. 1, read "interpretation" for "interpolation," and on page 27, col. 1, read "picaresque" for "picturesque."

WILLIAM THOMSON

Harvard University

Vers und Sprache im Altarabischen. Metrische und syntaktische Untersuchungen. (Acta Tropica. Supplementum 5.) Von Alfred Bloch. Basel, Verlag für Recht und Gesellschaft, 1946. pp. xii, 160. American representative, Albert J. Phiebig, Suite 1209, 545 Fifth Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

When H. Reckendorf, in 1921, published his *Arabische Syntax* he marked down as urgent tasks the investigation of the historical development of Arabic syntax, the syntactic analysis of the several stylistic kinds, and the study of the differences in the language of the old tribal groups. While Reckendorf's first challenge has not as yet met with any response a substantial contribution toward our understanding of the dialect structure of classical Arabic was made by the late H. Kofler in a series of articles published in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. 47-49 (1940-42). And now Mr. Bloch has devoted the major part of his remarkable monograph to the elucidation of Reckendorf's second problem by taking up, mainly with regard to the problems of word order, the syntactical peculiarities of Arabic prose and poetry (with *saj'* omitted from consideration).

The investigation follows in general the approach laid out by Nöldeke and Reckendorf but at many a point its results go significantly beyond those of his predecessors of whose inspiration Dr. Bloch makes frequent acknowledgment. What Bloch has to say on Arabic prosody and the perfect adequacy of a quantitative metrics to the syllabic structure of the language is illuminating and convincing although his peremptory rejection, on the basis of such compatibility, of any foreign influence on the formation of Arabic prosody appears somewhat rash. The principal result of Bloch's syntactical analysis, made more instructive by comparative material from Old Testament Hebrew, is the important realization that the poetical style infringes but rarely on the order of words governing prose expression. The very aptness of the prosodical system keeps deviations in poetry from the standard word order of prose within relative narrow bounds. In contrast to Greek and Latin poetry, Arabic poetry swerves from the accepted order not deliberately and for reasons of style but simply under the impact of the mechanics of verse structure, with rhyme compulsion a more potent factor than metrical difficulties. Such deviations, Dr. Bloch finds, are not sufficiently frequent to make the language of poetry essentially different from that of prose. It might be pointed out in this connection that, by and large, the Arab critics and grammarians—of whose opinions Mr. Bloch takes no notice—disapprove of distorted periods even though they are always ready to invoke metrical compulsion as a mitigating circumstance. Whether a lexicographical analysis of prose and poetry would uphold the diagnosis suggested by the no more than moderate differentiation in word order would prove of considerable interest. It may well be that to the Arabic hearer it was idiom rather than syntax, the mode of presentation rather than its grammatical means, that together with certain types of imagery used on conventionalized subjects, set apart the languages of prose and poetry.

Mr. Bloch's is a thoroughly competent piece of work which advances our understanding of the formal aspect of classical poetry as well as of Arabic syntax in general. It is a very promising beginning. His translations of illustrative material are well turned. The out-

ward appearance of the book matches the neatness of its organization.

G. E. VON GRUNEBaum

University of Chicago

Fool of Love: The Life of Ramon Lull. By E. Allison Peers. London, S. C. M. Press. pp. 177. 6s. net.

Here is a new brief life of the thirteenth century mystic, poet and daring thinker, known better today as missionary and martyr for the conversion of Muslims, one of the immortal heroes of the Church Catholic.

Early in the nineties three lives of Lull appeared almost simultaneously in New York, in Paris and a year later in London. The first described him as first and greatest missionary to Muslims; it was translated into Arabic, Spanish, Chinese and Dutch; the second, by Marius André, in French describes Lull as Roman Catholic saint and scholar; and the third, by W. T. A. Barber, as the Illuminated Doctor. Now we have a digest based on the definitive and critical biography by one who translated and published at least five of the great books of Lull and who is at home in the field of Spanish mysticism.

In seven chapters (with constant reference to sources) we have the fascinating story of one who called himself "The Fool of Love." "Recent scholarship," says the author, "has so skillfully divested his biography of the accretions of age that the portrait it enables me to present is uncannily modern." It is. But the appeal of such a life of vision, prayer, devotion and bold effort to win Jews and Muslims to Christ loses little in its telling. The book is a condensation of Allison Peers' fuller biography published just before the seven hundredth anniversary of Lull's birth. (S.P.C.K. London 1929).

We trust this new life of Lull will have wide circulation in the student world and win many recruits for a crusade of love to win Muslim hearts to Christ. Today Lull's importance as a philosopher is only historical. As patriarch of Catalan literature and as poet, his reputation is secure in the Spanish world. But for all Christendom the fire of his love and his missionary passion are the abiding lessons of his life.

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER

New York City

CURRENT TOPICS

"The Gospel according to St. Mark in Palestinian Colloquial Arabic with the Epistle General of St. James"

The new edition of the Gospel according to St. Mark in Palestinian Colloquial Arabic, published by the B. & F.B.S. originally in 1941, with the addition of a translation of the Epistle of James, calls for a word of commendation from practical experience of the first edition, and of good-cheer, with the prayer for God's richest blessing on this new work of faith and courage in the face of considerable prejudice and opposition even from some from whom would have been expected a favourable reaction.

I remember well, when the Rev. Eric Bishop first brought to Gaza the little green book, on which had been expended both devotion and scholarship. It was shown to a little group of effendis, who were loud in their disapproval that anyone should dare to translate God's Word into what they called common Arabic, and strong in averring that anyone who can read understands the standard version. These two objections are at the bottom of the opposition to the book; but there is another basic cause which is deeper and more serious, and will be made clear in due course. I shall try to put the different objections in their true perspective. The first shows only too clearly an almost religious veneration of classical Arabic: the second demonstrates a lamentable ignorance of the standard of education among our villagers and the artisan elements in our towns and cities.

After taking a passive but very interested part in this first discussion I decided to give the book a practical test and went straight over to the Hospital, and offered a copy to a young *fellah* about eighteen years old. He had been in hospital a long time suffering from osteomyelitis. Penicillin was not available in those days. He had for long been interested in the Gospel, and read everything he was given with apparent understanding and appreciation. I said to him, "Abdu, here is St. Mark's Gospel translated into 'darij' (Colloquial Arabic). I do not expect you will like it, but have a look at it and tell me what you think of it." Two days later I asked him how he liked the new book. His answer was prompt and in no measured terms. "It's fine," he said, "very fine; I like it very much." Trying my best to test him, I said: "Indeed! Surely the other books are better." He stood his ground and said, "No. The new book is better. It is much easier to understand." (*Ratha afsah*). That was Test No. 1.

The following week I was a delegate to the United Missionary Council in Jerusalem, when the publication was mentioned by the representative of the B. & F.B.S. In the discussion that followed there was obvious prejudice against the book on the part of clergy of more than one denomination, the line taken being similar to that of the first critics already mentioned. Not one could say that he had had any experience with the sub-literate. Dr. Wilson of Nazareth said that she found it useful among her women patients as they said they understood it better. When I mentioned my patient's remarks, the retort was that he had only said so to please me, the very eventuality

I did my best to guard against, by trying to discourage him at the outset.

The week after there was a meeting of the Church Council, at which the late Bishop, Graham Brown, was present. The comment was again hostile. One speaker went so far as to ask the Bishop to inhibit any further translation of the Scriptures into Colloquial Arabic. When asked for his opinion on the matter, the Bishop replied that he had heard a great deal of sentiment (that morning) but very little scholarship. That he was grieved at the attitude the opponents had adopted, I know quite well, for when I questioned him later as to why he had not said what he felt, he answered that if he has said anything, it would have been very severe.

Soon after we had a visit in Gaza from one of the younger clergy, who stayed with us. While lunching I asked him if he had attended the Council. When he said he had, I said I hoped he had supported the use of the new translation. He answered, "I am afraid I did not." We began again with the old arguments; but when we had finished the meal, I invited him to have a talk with Abdu in the Hospital. On our way I found a new patient had arrived that morning, reading the Gospel of St. John. I was delighted to find there had been no delay in his being given the Gospel soon after his admission. I offered him a "green gospel" at once, and he began to read it in front of the clergyman. He had hardly finished the first line, when the latter interrupted him, saying, "You do not understand that, do you?" I objected and said, "Give the poor man a chance." We went off to find Abdu, who did not show as much enthusiasm as I had expected, when confronted with the rather severe-looking visitor. When I asked him why he had not said more, he replied, "You see I saw that he did not like the book, so I did not want to say more." I told him when he saw him next time to say exactly what he thought. "Na'm," he said with a smile.

That interview was obviously of short duration, but when we returned to the new patient, we found him reading page 3 and he said he was enjoying it. Then I applied the test, and said, "You have read some of the old and some of the new: which would you like to keep?" He then held the books, one in each hand and weighed them up in his mind. He kept the St. Mark, and handed me back the St. John, which all admit is in the simplest possible Classical.

My next test was on a young friend in the town, who often came to our Friday devotional meeting with many other young Muslims. I asked him to read it and to look out for any alterations or corrections he would like to suggest. He came back a few days later with a broad smile on his face, telling me he had given the book to a sheikh, who had said to him: "Oh! those Christians, aren't they clever? Do you see what they are doing now? Translating the Gospel into Colloquial Arabic, so that the simplest people can understand it. Aren't they clever?" This seems to me to be a clear answer to the fear that Christians will be despised for using Arabic which is so far below the standard of the Muslims' Qur'an.

My last test must suffice, and it strikes me as being a tragic commentary on the Opposition. I was driving back from a neighbouring town after giving medical evidence in Court. A young mechanic,

who goes about the country keeping many pumping machines in order in the orange groves, asked for a lift. I asked him if he read much. He said he was not much good at reading. I put my hand into the pocket of the car, and produced a Colloquial St. Mark. He began to read. "Oh, I can understand this. I like this." On being told that it did not command the approval of some Clergy, his answer was "They are not concerned for us."

Perhaps he spoke too truly. Those who oppose the effort to bring the Gospel in its simplest form to simple people are surely unconsciously denying their vocation; for this may be a spiritual touchstone on which the Church in these lands will either rise or fall. We need a revival, a rededication of ourselves that every Muslim may know and take up his rights in the Gospel, no longer deprived of these through apathy or unwillingness to sacrifice on the part of Christians.

ALFRED R. HARGRAVES

*C.M.S. Hospital,
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Arabic and Pakistan

In *The Light*, the weekly newspaper of the Lahore Ahmadiyya Movement, for August 24, 1947, the following question and answer appear:

"Writing in the *Comrade* of Calcutta, Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah, the renowned scholar and linguist of Eastern Pakistan, who speaks over a score of languages, says:

'I regard Arabic as the national language of the Muslims of the world. So should I speak of the State language of Pakistan.' Again: 'It is the language of the Quran and the Hadith and its sounds are familiar to all Muslim ears from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific, from Morocco to the Philippines.' What is your opinion on this subject?

Answer: 'We wholly agree with the learned Doctor. Arabic should in our opinion be gradually made the State language of Pakistan. The provinces, however, may be allowed to maintain and develop their own languages, if they so like. A culture of the highly developed languages like Bengali, which is spoken by a majority of the people of Pakistan, and Urdu, which is second but to Bengali in the newly formed State, should certainly be encouraged. But as State language of Pakistan—language of the Central Government—and as *lingua franca* for the entire State, Arabic seems the most suitable of all languages. Arabic should be included in the system of our general education and taught with great care in our schools and colleges. It should in time take the place now occupied by English except that the media of instruction in the different provinces should be languages chosen by the provinces themselves.'"

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

BY SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

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I. GENERAL

BIBLIOGRAPHIE DES ÉGYPTOLOGUES FRANCAIS, 1940-1946. (In *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago. July, 1947. pp. 164-168).

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